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The Quran.

Koran. English & Arabic.
The Quran: the eternal revelation vouchsafed to Muhammad, The Seal of the Prophets: Arabic text with a new translation by Muhammad Zafrulla Khan. [London] Curzon Press [1971]
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PREFACE

THE necessity for a new translation of the Qur'ān which would present the results of critical study came home to the author as an urgent task more than twelve years ago, in the course of the preparation of his lectures of *The Origin of Islam*. He began it somewhat light-heartedly, not realising the labour which it would involve. The task has grown in complexity with each fresh revision. That all the problems of the Qur'ān have now been solved, it would require the confidence of ignorance to claim. But he hopes that his work marks a sufficient advance in the understanding of this important religious document to justify its publication.

The main object has been to understand the deliverances of Muhammad afresh, as far as possible in their historical setting, and therefore to get behind the traditional interpretation. But the Moslem commentators have not been ignored. Baiḍāwi has constantly, and other standard commentaries have occasionally, been consulted. It would be temerity in a European to question their understanding of the language. But dogmatic prepossessions sometimes vitiate their exegesis, and in many passages the grammatical construction is evidently difficult even to them. In these cases, one may use one's own judgment, and seek the solution of the difficulty by methods which they were precluded from adopting.

Textual emendation has been very sparingly adopted; not from any *a priori* principle, but because, even in many cases where emendations have been suggested as necessary by scholars, study of the passage has shown that the text is to be accepted as it stands, and the difficulty removed by other methods. There is as yet no critical edition of the text available.[1] I have worked with Fluegel's edition, but in all cases of difficulty I have consulted Oriental copies and considered the textual variants recorded by Baiḍāwi. The result has been to convince me that the redactors of the Qur'ān must have done their work with great care.

[1] Such an edition, with full apparatus criticus, is in course of preparation, by Dr. Jeffery of Cairo.

The translation goes frankly on the assumption that the Qur'ān was in written form when the redactors started their work, whether actually written by Muhammad himself, as I personally believe, or by others at his dictation. This conclusion also has been forced upon me in the course of my work. The translation itself must furnish the proof. If, by the hypothesis that the present form of the Qur'ān rests upon a careful reproduction of a confusion of written documents, that confusion has been in any considerable number of passages cleared up, the hypothesis will have justified itself. All the possibilities of confusion in written documents have had to be considered—corrections, interlinear additions, additions on the margin, deletions and substitutions, pieces cut off from a passage and wrongly placed, passages written on the back of others and then read continuously, front and back following each other. It is to this, rather than to textual defects, or to confusion in Muhammad's own thought and style that the dreary welter of the Qur'ān so often deplored by Western writers is due. It arises also from the fact that the Qur'ān was delivered for the most part in short pieces, which were afterwards put together in surahs—again I incline to believe by Muhammad himself, to some extent at least—so that one finds the most diverse subjects treated of in the same surah, just as they forced themselves upon the prophet's attention. Where the historical circumstances of Muhammad's deliverances can be recovered, they are for the most part clear and forcible. They make intelligible the unquestioned ascendancy which he gained and held amongst his people. Unfortunately, the historical circumstances are often obscure, even in the later and better known part of his career. For the Meccan portions of the Qur'ān, we are generally, in spite of tradition, left to guess what were the particular circumstances to which they had reference and what was their special purpose. By prefixing headings, I have sought to indicate what seems to me the main point dealt with in each section. Some indication of date has also usually been given. But it has to be understood that these datings are for the most part provisional merely. The thorough arrangement of the Qur'ān in chronological order remains a complicated problem which must be left to others to solve. My main object has been to unravel the composition of the separate surahs, and if it be found that this has contributed to the solution of the larger problem and to the understanding of the Qur'ān, I shall be content. I may add, however, that (provisionally) I regard

the composition of the Qur'ān as falling into three main periods: (*a*) an early period from which only fragments survive consisting mainly of lists of "signs" and exhortations to the worship of Allah; (*b*) the Qur'ān period, covering the latter part of Muhammad's activity in Mecca, and the first year or two of his residence in Medina, during which he is producing a Qur'ān giving in Arabic the gist of previous revelation; (*c*) the Book-period, beginning somewhere about the end of the year II., during which Muhammad is definitely producing a Book, *i.e.* an independent revelation.

The surahs have been kept in their usual order, and only such rearrangements of their contents made as seemed necessary to remove the confusions above referred to. What seemed the natural divisions of the text have been marked from each other by spacing. The numbering of the verses is that of Fluegel. Where his verse-divisions do not correspond to what appears to have been intended, the numbers have been printed in the text instead of on the margin, and the natural verse divisions retained. Verses have sometimes been broken up in accordance with older divisions shown by the occurrence of internal rhymes within the present verses.

The alterations, substitutions, and other derangements of the text have been indicated by the setting of the print on the page. Later additions have been set in a space or two from the margin. Where parts of the text are printed in parallel columns, that which stands on the left is taken as the earlier, that on the right as a later substitution for it. Where it seems fairly certain that the one was written on the back of the other a line has been printed between them. Where an addition has been made on the back of a scrap or scraps from elsewhere, these are separated from what precedes and follows by lines, thus . Where there is a presumption that one passage was written on the back of another but a doubt remains, they have been printed consecutively as they stand in the text, and the presumption indicated by a line between them and down the side, thus or according as the first is considered to be later or earlier than the second. Short additions within a verse have been marked off by spaces. Where it has been found necessary for the sake of clearness to add words in the English which are

not in the Arabic, they have been enclosed in brackets ( ). A question mark on the margin indicates a doubt as to the proper position of the verse.

Owing to the cost of printing, the mass of notes which have accumulated in the course of the work have had to be suppressed, and only the very minimum given at the foot of the page. The reconstructions of passages will, no doubt, seem arbitrary, thus presented without the arguments which support them. In some cases the author would be the first to admit uncertainty, but he hopes that examination will disclose a sufficient number of certain results to justify the methods which he has adopted, and that he will be given credit in other cases for having made an honest effort to understand the passage as it stands before resorting to hazardous reconstructions.

For the same reason, it has been impossible to acknowledge fully suggestions which have been adopted from others. It would, in fact, be impossible to record all such debts. But for the labours of previous scholars, the work would have been impossible.

For help in reading the proofs I am indebted to the Rev. A. T. Gordon, M.A., whose knowledge of Arabic enabled him to check, and sometimes improve, the accuracy of the translation, and to the Rev. Lewis McGlashan, M.A., whose criticism has removed some of the worst offences against good English. For such defects as remain, I must take responsibility. I have not aimed at literary elegance, but have rather sought to keep as close to the Arabic as the difference in the structures of the two languages would allow. The sometimes awkward inversions are due to an attempt, not however consistently carried through, to bring the equivalent of the Arabic rhyme-word to the end of the verse. I have also to thank the publishers for their interest, and the printers for the care they have taken in a difficult piece of work.

It is, further, necessary to acknowledge, and I do so gratefully, the financial assistance given to the publication by the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

RICHARD BELL

EDINBURGH,
17th July 1937.

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TRANSLATION OF THE QUR'ĀN

SURAH I

A SHORT prayer placed at the beginning of the Book. It was omitted by some of the early "Collectors," and may have been placed here by the redactors. More probably, however, Muhammad intended it to stand here. The date is uncertain, but if placed here by the prophet himself, it probably dates from about the time of his beginning to compose "the Book," late in year II, or early in year III.

SŪRAT FĀTIḤAT AL-KITĀB—CHAPTER OF THE OPENING OF THE BOOK.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

1. Praise belongs to Allah, the Lord of the worlds,
2. The Merciful, the Compassionate.
3. Wielder [1] of the Day of Judgment.
4. Thee do we serve, and on Thee do we call for help;
5. Guide us the straight path,
6. The path of those upon whom Thou hast bestowed good,
7. Not (that) of those upon whom anger falls, or those who go astray.

[1] Lit. "the one who has (it) in his power," or "possessor."

SURAH II

This surah seems to have been composed mainly in the years II and III. It was probably intended to be the first chapter of the Book which Muhammad set himself to produce soon after his break with the Jews and his assumption of prophetic independence. The introduction dates from about that time, but has been several times revised.

Earlier material was, however, utilised. The story of Adam was probably placed here that the Book, like previous Scriptures, might begin with the Creation. We have then an appeal to the Children of Israel based on their history, which by revisions becomes increasingly polemical. Then comes a series of arguments against the Jews, which towards the end includes Christians as well. We next have the adoption of the religion of Abraham, his association with the Ka'ba, and the change of *qibla*, which show the steps of Muhammad's assumption of independence; but unfortunately some of the passages are very confused. The pilgrimage was no doubt dealt with in some fashion about this time, but the battle of Badr intervened, barring the way to Mecca, and the pilgrimage is dealt with in a very confused passage later in the surah, vv. 193 ff. The casualties at Badr occasioned a passage dealing with the state of the dead, which was later revised, vv. 148–162.

Legislation occupies the greater part of the rest of the surah. These enactments are often revisions of previous deliverances, and have sometimes been revised again at a still later date. Sometimes they are in the form of answers to questions asked, or likely to be asked, by his followers. Some of these are no doubt also early, and were in the form of mere notes. The solid block of legislation dealing with marital relations, divorce, and widowhood probably belongs to a later period. That it displaced some earlier deliverances on the matter is certain. The extraneous passage, citing the example of the Children of Israel in support of fighting, vv. 247–252, may have been occasioned by the threat of attack by the Meccans. The insistence on contributions to the cause,

vv. 263 ff., may have been stimulated by the same danger as well as by the needs of the Moslem community. A revision of an earlier deliverance on usury, v. 276, and a long, and probably late, regulation dealing with the recording of debts, vv. 282, 283, close the surah.

Sūrat al-Baqara—Chapter of the Cow.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Introduction to the Book ; year II or III, revisions, year III.

(*a*) *The Believers.*

1. Alif, Lām, Mīm.[1]
That is the Book, in which there is no doubt,[2] guidance for those who act piously.[3]
3. Who believe in what has been sent down to thee, and in what has been sent down before thy time, and of the Hereafter are convinced.
2. Who believe in the Unseen, observe the Prayer, and of what We have provided them with give freely.
4. Such (stand) upon guidance from their Lord, and they are the ones who prosper.

(*b*) *Unbelievers ; Meccans or Jews (?).*

5. As for those who have disbelieved, it is all one whether thou hast warned them or not ; they will not believe.
6. Allah hath set a seal upon their hearts, and over their hearing and their sight is a covering ; for them is (in store) a punishment mighty.

(*c*) *Pretended Believers ; originally referring to Jews, but as finally revised, to Arab waverers in Medina.*

7. Of the people too are some who say : " We have believed in Allah and the Last Day," but who are not believers.
8. They try to deceive Allah and those who have believed, but they deceive only themselves without knowing it.
9. Their hearts are diseased,[4] and Allah hath increased the

[1] Of these groups of letters placed at the head of certain surahs no explanation can be given.

[2] Or " That Book—there is no doubt of it—is guidance. . . ."

[3] Lit. " protect themselves " (against Allah).

[4] A phrase applied to those in Medina who were doubtful of Muhammad's policies.

13. When they meet those who have believed, they say: "We have believed," but when they go apart to their satans,[1] they say: "We are on your side; we are only making fun."
14. Allah will make fun of them, and will let them go on for a while in their proud transgression blindly wandering.
12. When one says to them: "Believe as the people have believed," they say: "Shall we believe as the stupids have believed?" Is it not they themselves who are the stupids? But they do not know.
disease; for them a painful punishment (is in store) for the accusations of falsehood they have made.
10. When one says to them: "Do not cause corruption in the land,"[2] they say: "We are setting things right."[3]
11. Is it not they themselves who are the workers of corruption? But they do not perceive.

15. These are they who have bartered the guidance for error; their trade has not turned out profitable, and they have not been (rightly) guided.
16. They are like one who had kindled a fire, and then when it had lit up the surroundings, Allah took away their light, and left them in the darkness unable to see.
17. Deaf, dumb, and blind, they do not return.

An appeal for the worship of Allah; early Medinan.

19b. O ye people, serve your Lord who created you and those who were before you—mayhap ye will act piously.
20. Who made for you the earth a carpet, and the heaven a dome;[4] who hath sent down water from the heaven, and thereby produced fruits as a provision for you; so do not

An addition; same time as 9–11.

18. Or (it is) like a downpour from the heaven, in which are darkness and thunder and lightning. They put their fingers in their ears because of the thunder-claps to guard against death—Allah encompasseth the unbelievers.
19. The lightning almost takes away their sight; whenever

[1] Here probably the Jewish teachers.
[2] *I.e.* "injure the morale of the community."
[3] Or "acting uprightly."
[4] Lit. "something erected" overhead.

set up peers to Allah, when ye know (better).

it gives them light, they walk in it; but when it becomes dark upon them they stand still; if Allah so willed, He would take away their hearing and their sight; Allah over everything hath power.

A challenge to Unbelievers. Late Meccan or early Medinan.

21. If ye are in doubt about what We have sent down to Our servant, bring forward a sūrah [1] like it, and call your witnesses apart from Allah, if ye speak the truth.

22. If ye do not so—and ye will not do it—then protect yourselves [2] against the fire of which the people and the stones [3] are the fuel, prepared for the unbelievers.

The reward of the Believers; later addition.

23. To those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness give the good tidings that for them are Gardens through which the rivers flow, from which whenever they are provided with a provision of fruit, they will say: "This is what we were provided with before," for it is brought to them always alike; therein also are pure spouses for them, and therein will they abide.

Use of similes; referring probably to v. 16, *and about the same time.*

24. Allah is not ashamed to coin an occasional simile (from) a gnat or any thing higher; as for those who have believed, they know that it is the truth from their Lord; as for those who have disbelieved, they say: "What does Allah mean by this as a simile?" Thereby He sendeth many astray and guideth many, but He doth not send astray any but the reprobate;

Continuation of 19*b*, 20.

26. How will ye disbelieve in Allah, seeing that ye were dead and He brought you to life,[4] then He causes you to die and brings

Later addition; against the Jews (?).

25. Who violate the covenant of Allah after making a com-

[1] *Sūrah*, a word probably derived from Syr. *surṭā*, used in the sense of Scripture, *vide* Bell, *Origin*, p. 52.

[2] By acting piously. [3] Probably brimstone is meant. [4] *I.e.* at birth.

you to life again; then to Him are ye brought back.

27. He it is who created for you what is in the earth, as a whole, then straightened Himself up to[1] the heaven, and formed them seven heavens; He everything doth know.

pact with Him, and separate what Allah hath commanded to be conjoined, and cause corruption in the land; these are the losers.

Story of Adam.

Composite, but probably took shape at an earlier period, cf. xxxviii. 71 ff. and xv. 28 ff. Verse 37 was perhaps added when the story was placed here.

(*a*) *He gives Names to Things.*[2]

28. (Recall)[3] when thy Lord said to the angels: "Lo, I am going to place a vice-gerent in the earth." They said: "Wilt Thou place in it one who will work corruption and shed blood? We sing hymns in Thy praise and ascribe holiness to Thee." He replied: "I know what ye know not."

29. He taught Adam all the names; then He mustered them before the angels and said: "Tell Me the names of these, if ye speak the truth."

30. They said: "Glory be to Thee! we have no knowledge but what Thou hast taught us; Thou art the Knowing, the Wise."

31. He said: "O Adam, tell them their names." Then when he had told them their names, He said: "Did I not say to you, that I know the secret (things) of the heavens and the earth; I know what ye reveal and what ye have been concealing."

(*b*) *Iblīs.*

32. (Recall) when We said to the angels: "Prostrate yourselves to Adam"; they prostrated themselves, with the exception of Iblīs; he refused in his pride and became one of the unbelievers.

(*c*) *Paradise and the Fall.*

33. We said: "O Adam, dwell thou and thy spouse in the Garden and

[1] The literal meaning of the Arabic verb, but perhaps simply meaning "set about."

[2] Cf. Gen. ii. 20, and the passages quoted by Geiger (p. 98) from Midrash Rabba.

[3] The Arabic particle *idh* is often used in the Qur'ān to introduce an incident, but requires a word to be supplied before it in English.

eat comfortably of it wherever ye please, but come not nigh this tree, lest ye be wrong-doers."

34. But Satan [1] caused them to slip from it and to go out from the situation in which they had been, and We said: "Get ye down from it, enemies one to another; [2] on the earth is a resting-place for you and enjoyment (of life) for a time."

35. Then Adam chanced upon certain words from his Lord, and He relented towards him; verily He is the Relentant, the Compassionate.

36. We said: "Get ye down from it together, and if ever there come to you guidance from Me, then whoever follows My guidance, fear will not rest upon him nor will he grieve.

37. But those who have disbelieved and counted Our signs false—they are the people of the Fire, therein abiding."

Appeal to the Children of Israel (Jews).

Year II (?); revised; rearrangement doubtful.

38. O Children of Israel, remember the good which I bestowed upon you; fulfil My covenant and I shall fulfil your covenant; so to Me give reverence.

39. Confuse not the truth with what is vain, nor conceal the truth knowingly.

Scrap; addressed to Believers.

40. Observe the Prayer and pay the Zakāt,[5] and bow with those who bow.

41. Do ye urge the people to right conduct and forget yourselves though ye recite the Book? Have ye then no sense?

42. Seek help in patience and the Prayer, for it [3] is heavy [4] except to the humble;

43. Who think that they are going to meet their Lord, and that to Him they are going to return.

[1] Iblīs (v. 32): Satan (v. 34): an indication that the different parts of the story came originally from different sources.

[2] Referring to the mutual enmity in which mankind live.

[3] The reference has been lost. [4] Lit. "great."

[5] The tax which Muhammad demanded from his followers for the benefit of the poor, and other purposes. The date of its institution is uncertain.

Appeal to the Children of Israel (Jews).

Year I (?) ; revised later in a hostile sense.

44. O Children of Israel, remember the good which I bestowed upon you, and that I gave you preference over the worlds.
45. And protect yourselves against a day in which no person will give any satisfaction instead of another, nor will intercession be accepted from him, nor any equivalent be taken, nor will they be helped.[1]
46. (Recall) when We delivered you from the family of Pharaoh, who were laying upon you the evil of punishment, slaughtering your sons, and saving your women alive ; in that was a mighty trial from your Lord.
47. When We divided the sea with you and delivered you, while We drowned the people of Pharaoh before your eyes.
48. When We made an appointment with Moses for forty nights, and ye took (as a god) the calf after he had gone, being wrong-doers.
49. Then We overlooked your offence after that, in the hope that ye might show thankfulness.
50. When We gave Moses the Book and the Furqān,[2] in the hope that ye might be guided.

Continuation later, stressing the perversity of the Israelites.

51. When Moses said to his people : " O my people, ye have wronged yourselves, by taking (as a god) the calf, so repent towards your creator, and slay each other ; [3] that will be better for you in your creator's eyes." Then He relented towards you ; verily He is the Relentant, the Compassionate.
52. When ye said : " O Moses, we shall not believe thee until we see Allah openly " ; so the thunderbolt took you while still ye looked.[4]
53. Then We raised you up again after your death [5] in the hope that ye might show thankfulness.
54. We caused the cloud to overshadow you and sent down to you the manna and the quails : " Eat of the good things which We

[1] The verse seems to refer to Christian ideas ; probably their distinction from the Jews has not yet been clearly realised.

[2] Syr. *purqānā*=salvation, cf. Bell, *Origin*, pp. 118 ff. ; Jeffery, s.v. ; possibly Heb. *perāqīm* may have influenced the use here.

[3] Cf. Ex. xxxii. 26 ff.

[4] Ex. xix. 17 ff. and xxxiii. 18 f., which has perhaps been transferred to the people.

[5] Cf. Talmud on Sanhedrin V. (Rodwell).

have provided for you" ;[1] they did not wrong Us, but themselves they were wronging.

55. When We said: "Enter this town, and eat comfortably from it wherever ye please; enter the gate doing obeisance, and say 'Ḥiṭṭa,'[2] and We shall forgive you your transgressions and increase those who do well."

56. Then those of them who did wrong substituted a word different from that which had been said to them; so We sent down upon those who had done wrong wrath from the heaven for their reprobate conduct.

57. When Moses sought water for his people, and We said: "Strike the stone with thy staff." Then there gushed out from it twelve springs, all the people already knowing their drinking-places: "Eat and drink of the provision of Allah, and do not work mischief in the land causing corruption."[3]

58. When ye said: "O Moses, we cannot endure one kind of food,[4] so call upon thy Lord for us; let Him bring forth for us some of the things the earth produces, its green herbs, its cucumbers, its corn,[5] its lentils and its onions." He said: "Do ye seek to get that which is mean in place of that which is better? Get ye down to Egypt, for ye shall have what ye have asked."

Early Medinan scrap.

59. Those who have believed, those who have judaised,[6] the Naṣārā[7] and the Ṣābi'īn,[8] whoever has believed in Allah and the Last Day, and has acted uprightly, have their reward with their Lord; fear rests not upon them, nor do they grieve.

Later hostile addition.

Humiliation and poverty were stamped upon them, and they settled under anger from Allah; that was because they had been disbelieving in the signs of Allah, and slaying the prophets unjustly; that was for the opposition and enmity they had been showing.

Original continuation of 44–50.

60. When We took your compact and raised the mountain over you:

[1] Cf. Num. xi.

[2] Perhaps Heb. *ḥēṭ'* = sin. The reference is obscure, but some reminiscence of the attempt to enter the Promised Land at Kadesh, lies behind vv. 55, 56.

[3] Cf. Num. xx. [4] Num. xi. 4 ff. [5] Var. lect. "garlic."

[6] *I.e.* the Jews, a pun on the name Yahūd.

[7] The Christians.

[8] Lit. "baptizers" (?); who they were has not been satisfactorily explained.

" Lay firm hold of what We have given you, and remember what is in it ; mayhap ye will act piously."

61a. Then after that ye turned away, and had it not been for the bounty and mercy of Allah towards you, ye would have been among the losers.

61b. Ye know those of you who transgressed in the matter of the sabbath, and to whom We said : " Be ye apes slinking away."

62. We made it a warning example to what was before it and what was after it, and an admonition to those who act piously.[1]

Probably continues 51–58*a*.

63a. When Moses said to his people : " Allah commands you to sacrifice a cow." They said : " Art thou making fun of us ? " He replied : " Allah preserve me from being among the ignorant."

63b. They said : " Call upon thy Lord for us ; let Him make clear for us what she is." He replied : " He says, she is to be a cow neither old nor a heifer, but middle-aged between the two ; so do as ye are commanded."

64. They said : " Call upon thy Lord for us ; let Him make clear for us what is her colour." He replied : " He says, she is to be a dun cow of pure colour, delighting those who look (at her)."

65. They said : " Call upon thy Lord for us ; let Him make clear for us what she is, for cows to us are much alike ; so if Allah will, we shall be (rightly) guided."

66. He replied : " He says, she is to be a cow not broken in to plough up the land or to irrigate the cultivated ground, but kept sound without a blemish upon her." They said : " Now thou hast brought the truth." So they sacrificed her, but they were nearly not doing it.

67. When ye slew a person and quarrelled about it—Allah bringeth to light what ye have been concealing—

68. We said : " Strike him with part of it." Thus doth Allah bring the dead to life and show you His signs, mayhap ye will understand.[2]

69. Then your hearts became hard after that,[3] and they are like stones or even harder, for there are some stones from which rivers well up, and some have been split so that water comes out of them, and

[1] Vv. 61b, 62 may possibly be later than 60, 61a : for *girada* " apes " Hirschfeld (*New Researches*, p. 108) proposes *qirdān* " vermin," cf. Ex. xvi. 20. but see on vii. 166.

[2] For vv. 63–68, cf. Num. xix. 1–9, and Deut. xxi. 1–9. Mishna, Parah i. 1 f.

[3] The reproach may be Christian, cf. Ahrens, *Z.D.M.G.* 1930.

some there are which fall down because of reverence for Allah; Allah is not neglectful of what ye do.

Theological attack on the Jews.

70. Are ye eager that they should believe you,[1]—though a part of them have been hearing the word of Allah and then after they have understood it, perverting it knowingly?

71. When they meet those who have believed, they say: "We have believed"; but when they are alone with one another, they say: "Do ye tell them of what Allah hath revealed to you, that they may thereby dispute with you in the presence of your Lord?[2] Have ye no sense?"

72. Do they not know that Allah knoweth what they keep secret as well as what they publish?

73. Some of them are common people[3] who do not know the Book except as things taken on trust[4] and who only cherish opinions; so woe to those who write the Book with their hands and then say: "This is from

Addition to the preceding; about the same time as 58*b*.

77. When We made a covenant with the Children of Israel:[5] "Ye shall not serve (any god) but Allah; to parents (show) kindness, and to the near relative, the orphan and the poor; speak good to the people; observe the Prayer and pay the Zakāt"; then afterwards ye turned away, except a few of you, averting (yourselves).

78. When We made a covenant with you:[6] "Ye shall not shed your own blood; ye shall not expel your own people from your dwellings;

79*d*. and if they come to you as prisoners, ye will redeem them;"[7]

78*d*. and ye then confirmed it, ye yourselves being witnesses.

79. Then there ye are killing each other and expelling a part of you from their dwellings backing up their enemies in guilt and enmity, though it—their expulsion[8]—was forbidden to you. Do ye believe in part

[1] Lit. "for you"; the address is to the Moslems through the prophet.

[2] *I.e.* the Moslems may dispute the Jews' religious position, if they get to know too much of the revelation.

[3] Lit. "belonging to the community"; perhaps Arabs, but probably the Jewish phrase *'am hā-'āreẓ* has influenced the meaning.

[4] The meaning of the word is uncertain.

[5] The covenant at Sinai.

[6] The agreement made with Muhammad in Medina.

[7] This clause is misplaced, having been written later on the margin.

[8] A gloss necessitated by the misplacement.

Allah," that they may buy with it some small gain![1] Woe to them for what their hands have written, and woe to them for what they pile up!

74. They say: "The Fire will not touch us except for a number of days." Say (thou): "Have ye made a contract with Allah, who will not break His contract, or do ye say about Allah what ye do not know?"
75. Nay, those who pile up evil and whose sin encompasses them will be inmates of the Fire therein to abide.
76. But those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness will be inmates of the Garden therein to abide.

of the Book and disbelieve in part? What then is the recompence of those of you who do that but humiliation in this nearer life, and that on the Day of Resurrection they will be sent back to the severest punishment? Allah is not neglectful of what ye do.[2]
80. These are they who have purchased the present life at the expense of the Hereafter; so the punishment will not be alleviated for them, nor will they be helped.
81. We gave Moses the Book and followed him up by the messengers after him, and We gave Jesus, son of Mary, the Evidences and aided him by the Holy Spirit; whenever then a messenger comes to you with what ye yourselves do not like, do ye act proudly and brand some as liars, while some ye kill?

82. They say: "Our hearts are uncircumcised." Nay, Allah hath cursed them for their unbelief; little will they believe.
83b. They used formerly to ask for deliverances against those who have disbelieved, but when what they recognised came to them,

83a. When there came to them a Book from Allah confirming what was with them,

they disbelieved in it; so the curse of Allah is upon the unbelievers.
84. A poor price have they sold themselves for in disbelieving what

[1] Might imply that the Jews had tried to palm off spurious Scripture on Muhammad, but more probably refers to the Jewish traditional Law.

[2] Verse 79 may refer to Jewish intrigues with the Quraish between Badr and Uhud.

Allah hath sent down, out of spite that Allah should send down (part) of His bounty upon whomsoever of His servants [1] He willeth ; so they have settled under anger upon anger, and for the unbelievers is a punishment humiliating.

85. When one says to them : " Believe in what Allah hath sent down," they say : " We believe in what has been sent down to us " ; but they disbelieve in anything after that, though it is the truth confirming what is with them. Say (thou) : " Why then did ye use to kill the prophets of Allah in former times, if ye are believers ? "

86. Moses came to you with the Evidences, but afterwards ye chose the calf, being wrong-doers.

87. When We made the covenant with you,[2] and raised the mountain over you : " Lay firm hold of what We have bestowed upon you and hear " ; they said : " We hear and rebel," [3] and they were made to drink the calf in their hearts for their unbelief. Say : " Bad is what your belief commands you, if ye are believers."

88. Say : " If the final dwelling with Allah is yours alone to the exclusion of the people, wish for death if ye speak the truth."

89. But they will never wish for it, because of what their hands have sent forward ; [4] Allah knoweth the wrong-doers.

90. Thou wilt indeed find them the keenest of the people for life, (keener) even than the idolaters ; [5] one of them wishes that he may be kept in life for a thousand years, but his being kept in life will not remove him from the punishment ; Allah is observant of what they do.

Encouragement for the prophet.
Later substitute for 92.

91. Say : " Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel — verily he hath brought it down upon thy heart with the permission of Allah confirming what was before

92. Whoever is an enemy to Allah and His angels and His messengers and Gabriel and Michael — verily Allah is an enemy to the unbelievers.

[1] *I.e.* to Muhammad and his followers.
[2] At Sinai.
[3] A (malicious ?) reproduction in Arabic of the Hebrew *shāmaʿnū wĕʿāsīnū* =we hear and do.
[4] *I.e.* their deeds awaiting them at the Judgment.
[5] The clause is grammatically uneven, and is perhaps a later insertion.

Scrap ; originally after 95 (*?*)

94. Whenever they have made a compact, does a part of them discard it ? Nay, the most of them do not believe.

it, and as guidance and good tidings to the believers.

93. Assuredly We have sent down to thee signs [1] as Evidences, and no one disbelieves in them but the reprobate."

95. When a messenger has come to them from Allah confirming what is with them, a part of those to whom the Book has been given [2] cast the Book of Allah behind their backs as if they did not know ;

96. And follow what the satans used to recite in the reign of Solomon,[3] Solomon did not disbelieve, but the satans disbelieved, teaching the people magic and what had been sent down to the two angels in Babel, Hārūt, and Mārūt [4] ;
they do not teach anyone without first saying : " We are only a temptation, so do not disbelieve " ;
so they learn from them means by which they separate man and wife ;
but they do not injure anyone thereby, except by the permission of Allah ;
and they learn what injures them and does not profit, though they know that he who buys it has no share in the Hereafter ; a bad bargain did they make for themselves, if they had known.

97. If they had believed and acted piously, assuredly, a reward from Allah would have been better, if they had known.[5]

Warning to the Believers against Jewish influence.

98. O ye who have believed, do not say : " Rā'inā " [6] but say " Unẓurnā " and hearken ; for the unbelievers is (in store) punishment painful.

[1] Here perhaps = verses.

[2] Possessors of previous Scriptures, including Jews and Christians.

[3] Probably refers to the Rabbinic Law.

[4] No explanation of these names has been found.

[5] As the rhyme-phrase indicates, v. 97 is intended as a substitute for 96, that verse having been found unsatisfactory, even with the explanatory insertions above indicated.

[6] Evidently an attempt to reproduce a Hebrew word meaning " regard us," for which the Arabic is to be used.

99. Those who have disbelieved of the People of the Book, and of the idolaters,[1] do not like that anything good should be sent down to you from your Lord; but Allah singleth out with His mercy whomsoever He pleaseth; Allah is wielder of mighty bounty.
100. For whatsoever verse We cancel or cause (the messenger) to forget We bring a better or the like;[2] does not one know that Allah over everything hath power?
101. Does not one know that to Allah belongs the realm of the heavens and the earth, and that for you apart from Him is neither protector nor helper?
102. Or do ye intend to question your messenger as Moses was questioned aforetime?[3] He who exchanges belief for unbelief has strayed aside from the way.
103. Many of the People of the Book would like if they might render you unbelievers again after your having believed, because of envy on their part after the truth has become clear to them; so overlook and pay no attention until Allah interveneth with His affair; verily Allah over everything hath power.
104. Observe the Prayer and pay the Zakāt; whatever good ye send forward for yourselves ye shall find with Allah; verily Allah of what ye do is observant.

Theological attack continued; Christians now included.

105. They say: "No one but those who are Jews or Christians will enter the Garden"; that is what they take on trust;[4] say (thou): "Produce your proof, if ye speak the truth."
106. Nay, whoever surrenders himself to Allah, being a well-doer, has his reward with his Lord, fear rests not upon him nor does he grieve.
107. The Jews say: "The Christians have no ground to stand on," and the Christians say: "The Jews have no ground to stand on"; (this) though they both recite the Book. So also those who have no knowledge[5] say much the same. Allah will judge between them on the Day of Resurrection in regard to that in which they have been differing.

[1] Probably a later insertion, cf. v. 90.
[2] A hint that changes may be necessary, owing to the break with the Jews.
[3] Cf. vv. 63 ff.
[4] Cf. v. 73.
[5] *I.e.* the pagan Arabs who have no knowledge of revealed religion.

108. But who does greater wrong than those who bar the places of Allah's worship from having the name of Allah remembered in them, and who strive to destroy them ?[1] It was not for them to enter them but in fear. For them is (in store) humiliation in this life, and in the Hereafter a mighty punishment.
109. To Allah belong the East and the West; whichever way ye turn, the face of Allah is there;[2] verily Allah is unrestricted,[3] knowing.
110. They[4] say: "Allah hath taken offspring to Himself." Glory be to Him! nay, to Him belongs what is in the heavens and the earth, obeying Him each one;
111. The originator of the heavens and the earth; when He decides upon a thing, He simply says: "Be!" and it is.

Arabs cavil that no revelation is given to them.

112. Those who have no knowledge[5] say: "Why does not Allah speak to us, or a sign come to us?"; so said those who were before them; their hearts are much alike. We have made clear the signs to a people who are convinced.

Muhammad reassured.

113. Verily We have sent thee with the truth, as a bringer of good tidings and a warner; thou wilt not be questioned[6] about those who go to the Hot Place.
114. Neither the Jews nor the Christians will be satisfied with thee until thou followest their creed;[7] say: "The guidance of Allah is the guidance"; if thou followest their desires after the knowledge which has come to thee, there will be for thee from Allah neither protector nor helper.
115. Those to whom we have given the Book and who recite it as it should be recited—they believe in it;[8] those who disbelieve in it—they are the losers.

[1] This cannot refer to the Meccans; it may perhaps refer to the Jews who had assisted the Persians in their capture of Jerusalem.
[2] A hint of the coming change of Qibla.
[3] Lit. "wide."
[4] The Christians.
[5] See note [5], p. 15.
[6] On the Judgment Day.
[7] *Milla*=form of religion, from Syr. *melthā*=word.
[8] Some of the People of the Book still believe in Muhammad's message.

Appeal to the Children of Israel, repeated on a new basis.

116. O Children of Israel, remember the good which I bestowed upon you, and that I gave you preference over the worlds,

117. And protect yourselves against a day on which no person will give any satisfaction instead of another, nor will an equivalent be accepted from him, nor will intercession avail him, nor will they be helped.

118. (Recall) when Abraham was tried by his Lord with (certain) words [1] and fulfilled them; He said: "See, I am going to make thee an example [2] to the people"; he replied: "And (some) of my posterity also?" He said: "My covenant will not extend to the wrong-doers."

119. When We appointed the House [3] to be a place of resort and a security for the people, and: "Take for yourselves the station of Abraham [4] as a place of prayer," and We covenanted with Abraham and Ishmael: "Purify My House for those who circle round it, and for those who cleave to it, and for those who bow and prostrate themselves."

120. When Abraham said: "O my Lord, make this land secure,[5] and provide its people with fruits, whosoever of them believes in Allah and the Last Day"; He replied: "And whosoever disbelieves I shall give enjoyment of life for a little and shall then drive to the punishment of the Fire—a bad place to go to!"

121. When Abraham raised the foundations of the House along with Ishmael: "O our Lord, accept (it) from us, Thou art the Hearer, the Knower.

122. O our Lord, make us to be submissive [6] to Thee, and of our posterity a community submissive to Thee, and show us our rites, and relent towards us; Thou art the Relentant, the Compassionate.

123. O our Lord, raise up also amongst them a messenger, one of themselves, to recite to them Thy signs and to teach them the Book and the Wisdom and to purify them (by almsgiving);[7] verily Thou art the Sublime, the Wise."

[1] The command to sacrifice his son.

[2] Arabic, *imām*.

[3] The Ka'ba.

[4] Probably the site of the Ka'ba itself, though later applied to a special place in the precincts.

[5] A reference to the immunity of the haram of Mecca from bloodshed.

[6] *I.e.* Moslems.

[7] Or perhaps, "impose the Zakāt upon them."

Moslem independence.

Originally after v. 111 (*?*), *but revised in a progressively independent spirit;* 133, 134*a*, 135 *detached and* 130, 132 *inserted in place of them; substitutions made at the end of both; finally whole passage discarded in favour of* 129*b*, *and* 124–128, *these latter on the back of it.*

129. They say: "Be ye Jews or Christians and ye will be guided"; Say (thou): "Nay, the creed of Abraham, who was a Ḥanīf,[1] but was not one of the idolaters.

Intermediate continuation of 129*a*.

130. Say ye: "We have believed in Allah and what has been sent down to us, and what has been sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the Patriarchs and what has been given to Moses and Jesus and what has been given to the prophets from their Lord, making no distinction between any of them;

132. The savour[2] of Allah, and in savour who is better than Allah? Him are we going to serve.

and to Him are we submissive.

131. So if they believe in something like what ye believe in, they have been guided; but if they turn away, it is they who are in schism;

.....

Allah will attend to them for thee, He is the one who hears and knows.

Original continuation of 129*a*.

133. Say (thou): "Do ye dispute with us in regard to Allah, though He is our Lord as well as yours; we have our works and

124. Who is averse to the creed of Abraham but him who is essentially stupid? We surely have chosen him in this world, and in the Hereafter he is among the upright.

125. When his Lord said to him: "Surrender thyself,"[3] he said: "I have surrendered myself to the Lord of the worlds."

126. Abraham charged his sons therewith, and Jacob[4] also: "O my sons, Allah hath chosen the religion for you, so die not without becoming submissive."[5]

[1] Singular of *ḥunafā'*=Syr. *ḥanēphē*, heathens, the term applied by Christians to the Arabs, vide *Moslem World*, vol. xx., p. 120 ff.

[2] The exact meaning of the word is uncertain.

[3] *I.e.* "become Moslem."

[4] The reading varies, but probably subject to the verb, not object.

[5] *I.e.* "becoming Moslems."

ye have yours, and we make (religion) entirely His ?

134. Or do ye say " Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the Patriarchs were Jews or Christians ? "

135. That is a community which has passed away ; to it what it has earned and to you what ye have earned ; ye will not be asked about what they used to do."[1]

Say (thou) : " Do ye or Allah know best ? Who does greater wrong than he who conceals a testimony[2] from Allah which is with him ? Allah is not neglectful of what ye have been doing.

127. Or were ye[3] witnesses when death drew nigh to Jacob, when he said to his sons : " What will ye serve after I am gone ? " ; they said : " We shall serve thy God, the God of thy fathers, Abraham, Ishmael, and Isaac, one God ; and we to Him are submissive."

128. That is a community which has passed away ; to it what it has earned and to you what ye have earned ; ye will not be asked about what they used to do."[1]

The Change of Qibla.[4]

Rajab or Sha'ban, year II ; perhaps there was an interval between the dropping of the Jerusalem qibla and the adoption of the Meccan one, during which no particular direction was prescribed. Vv. 136–138 *would belong to that interval, but possibly* 137, 138*b are later.*

136. The stupids among the people will say : " What has turned them from the qibla which they have been observing ? " ; say (thou) : " To Allah belongs the East and the West ; He guideth whom He willeth to a straight path."

[1] Abraham and his successors were a religious community, in the past entirely distinct from Jews and Christians, just as Moslems now claim access to the grace of God independently of them. This concluding verse of the discarded portion is repeated in v. 128 at the end of the substitution.

[2] A fact contained in Scripture, such as the priority of Abraham to Moses.

[3] *I.e.* Jews and Christians.

[4] The direction in which the worshipper faces in prayer.

137. Thus have We made you a community in the middle, that ye may
? be witnesses in regard to the people, and the messenger be in regard to you a witness.

138. We appointed the qibla which thou hast been observing[1] only that We might know those who would follow the messenger from those who would turn on their heels, though it was a big thing except to those whom Allah guided. But Allah was not one to
? let your faith go lost; verily Allah is with the people gentle and compassionate.

Appointment of the Ka'ba as Qibla.

Originally 139*a*, 144 (*private*); *for publication*, 144 *was replaced by the hortatory passage* 145–147 *written on the back of that and other discarded verses. Finally this was replaced by* 139*b*.

139a. We see thee turning thy face about in the heaven. So We shall put thee in possession of a qibla that will satisfy thee;

May have originally followed 144 (*?*).

140. If thou bringest those who have been given the Book every sign they will not follow thy qibla; thou art not a follower of their qibla, nor are they followers of each other's qibla; if thou followest their desires after the knowledge which has come to thee, thou wilt in that case assuredly be among the wrong-doers.

Substitute for 145–147.

139b. turn thy face in the direction of the Sacred Mosque, and wherever ye are, turn your faces in its direction. Those to whom the Book has been given know that it is the truth from their Lord, and Allah is not neglectful of what they do.

Original context uncertain.

141. Those to whom We have given the Book recognise it[2] as

Substitute for 144, *after* 139*a*.

145. As thou hast gone forth,[3] turn thy face in the direction of

[1] Jerusalem.

[2] The reference has been lost, but probably it refers to Muhammad's message.

[3] From Mecca.

they recognise their own sons, but a party of them conceal the truth knowingly.
142. The truth is from thy Lord, so be not thou of those who doubt.

About same time as 136 (*?*).

143. Each has a direction to which he turns; so strive to be foremost in good deeds; whereever ye may be Allah will bring you all together; verily Allah over everything hath power.

Original end of 139.

144. As thou hast gone forth, turn thy face in the direction of the Sacred Mosque; verily it is the truth from thy Lord and Allah is not neglectful of what ye do.

the Sacred Mosque, and wherever ye are, turn your faces in its direction, in order that the people may have no argument against you,[1] except those of them who have done wrong; fear them not but fear ye Me; and in order that I may perfect My favour upon you, and mayhap ye will be guided;
146. According as We have sent among you a messenger, one of yourselves, to recite to you Our signs, and purify you (by almsgiving),[2] to teach you the Book and the Wisdom, and to teach you what ye did not use to know.
147. So remember ye Me and I shall remember you; show thankfulness to Me and do not act ungratefully towards Me.

State of the Dead; after Badr (*?*).

148. O ye who have believed, seek help in patience and the Prayer; verily Allah is with those who patiently endure.
149. Say not of those who may be killed in the way[3] of Allah, "Dead"; nay, (they are) alive, only ye are not aware.

Possibly between change of Qibla and Badr.

153. Ṣafā and Marwa[4] are amongst the manifestations of Allah; so if anyone performs the pilgrimage to the House or the ʿumra,[5] it is no fault in him that he makes

Addition, after Uhud.

150. We shall surely try you with some experience of fear and hunger and

[1] The Jerusalem qibla had apparently been an offence to the Arabs.
[2] Or "impose the Zakāt upon you." [3] Or "cause."
[4] Two heights near the Kaʿba; permission is here given to follow a pagan custom.
[5] The lesser pilgrimage or visit to the Kaʿba.

the circuit of them; if one does good spontaneously, Allah is grateful, knowing.

About time of change of Qibla.

154. Those who conceal the Evidences and the guidance which We have sent down, after We have made it clear to the people in the Book, Allah will curse, and others too will curse.

155. Except those who have repented, and acted uprightly and made (it) clear; towards such I shall relent, verily I am the Relentant, the Compassionate.

defect of property and persons and fruits; so give (thou) good tidings to those who patiently endure,

151. Who when misfortune falls upon them say: "Verily we are Allah's, and to Him do we return."

152. Upon such are blessings and mercy from their Lord; such are the (rightly) guided.

Originally followed v. 149.

156. Those who have disbelieved and died as unbelievers—upon them is the curse of Allah and the angels and the people as a whole.

157. Under it will they abide with no lightening of the punishment and without respite.

Connect with v. 26 *f.*

158. Your God is one God; there is no god but He, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

159. Surely in the creation of the heavens and the earth, the alternation of day and night, the ship which runs upon the sea with what is of use to the people, the water which Allah hath sent down from the heaven whereby He hath restored the earth after it had become dead, and hath spread abroad in it all kinds of animals, (in) the change of

Addition; date (?).

160b. If those who have done wrong might but see (the day) when they will see the punishment, that the power belongs to Allah entirely, and that Allah is severe in punishment;

161. When those who have been followed[1] renounce those who have followed them, and they see the punishment, and cut off from them are (all) resources;

162. And those who have followed say: "If (only) we might have (another) turn so that we

[1] The exact reference is not clear; false gods or religious leaders or perhaps prophets as, *e.g.*, Jesus; cf. v. 116.

winds, and the clouds made to do service between the heaven and the earth, are signs for a people who have sense.

160a. Yet of the people are some who choose peers apart from Allah, whom they love with a love like that given to Allah; only those who have believed love Allah with a stronger love.

might renounce them as they have renounced us. . . ."! Thus does Allah show them their works. Sighings for them! They are not going to get out of the Fire.

Food; early Medinan.

163. O ye people, eat of what is in the earth as lawful and good and follow not the footsteps of Satan, for he is to you a manifest enemy;

164. He only urges you to evil and unseemliness and to say about Allah what ye do not know.

Join to 160*a*.

165. When one says to them: "Follow what Allah hath sent down," they say: "Nay, we will follow what we found our fathers doing"—even though their fathers were utterly without understanding, and were not (rightly) guided?

166. Those who have disbelieved —it is like one calling to animals which hear nothing but a calling and a shouting; deaf, dumb, blind, they will not understand.

Revision of earlier Legislation. Food.

167. O ye people, eat of the good things which We have provided for you and show gratitude to Allah, if it is He whom ye serve.

168. He hath only forbidden you (what is found) dead, blood, the flesh of swine, and that over which any other name than that of Allah has been invoked; But if anyone is compelled, without his own desire or deliberate transgression no guilt rests upon him; verily Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

169. Those who conceal what of the Book Allah hath sent down, and purchase thereby a small gain—such eat nothing but fire in their bellies; Allah will not speak to them on the day of resurrection, nor will He purify them; for them is a painful punishment.

Unconnected.[1]

170. Such are those who purchase error at the expense of guidance, and punishment at the expense of forgiveness; how patient must they be of the Fire!

Later addition.

171. That is because Allah hath sent down the Book with the truth, and those who disagree in regard to the Book are widely in schism.

About time of change of Qibla; but revised later so as to apply to contributions.

172. It is not virtuous conduct that ye should turn your faces towards the East or the West, but virtuous conduct is (that of) those who have have believed in Allah and the Last Day and the angels and the Book and the prophets, and who, though they love their wealth,[2] bestow it upon relatives, and orphans and the poor, upon the follower[3] of the way, and the beggars, and for (the ransoming) of captives; who observe the Prayer and pay the Zakāt; those who fulfil their covenant when they have entered into one, who endure steadfastly under adversity and hardship, and at the time of attack—
these are the ones who have spoken truth, they are the ones who show piety.

Retaliation; early Medinan, revised.

173. O ye who have believed, retaliation in the matter of the slain is prescribed for you, the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the female for the female;
so if anyone is forgiven anything by his brother, let him follow (it) with what is reputable, and pay with kindness. 174. That is an alleviation and a mercy from your Lord; so if anyone provokes hostility after that—for him is a painful punishment.

175. In retaliation is life for you, O ye of insight; mayhap ye will show piety.

Wills; early Medinan, v. 178 *added later.*

176. Prescribed for you, when death draws nigh to one of you, and he has goods to leave, is the making of a testamentary declaration [4]

[1] If connected with the preceding, must refer to concealment of the fact that food-restrictions belong to Judaism and not to previous times; iii. 87.

[2] Or "for the love of Him" (*i.e.* Allah) "bestow their wealth."

[3] Lit. "son"; probably refers to those who have suffered through adhering to the Moslem community.

[4] Here probably oral, not written.

in favour of parents and relatives reputably—a duty resting upon those who show piety.

177. Then if any alter it after having heard it, the guilt of it rests upon those who alter it; verily Allah is one who hears and knows.

178. But if anyone fears injustice or guilt on the part of a testator, and adjusts the matter between the parties,[1] no guilt rests upon him; verily Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Fasting; early Medinan.

179. O ye who have believed, fasting is prescribed for you as it was for those before you; mayhap ye will show piety.

End of year I.

180. A certain number of days; but if any of you be sick or on a journey, then a number of other days; those who are in a position to fast may redeem (the duty) by feeding a poor man, but if one does good voluntarily it is better for him; and it is better for you to fast, if ye have knowledge.

End of year II, or year III.

181. The month of Ramaḍān, in which the Qur'ān was sent down as guidance for the people, and as Evidences of the guidance and Furqān; so whoever of you is at home during the month let him fast in it; but if anyone is sick or on a journey (let him fast) a number of other days. Allah wishes to make it easy for you, and does not wish to make it difficult for you; and (it is) in order that ye may complete the (full) number (of days), and that ye may magnify Allah for the guidance He hath given you; mayhap ye will show thankfulness.

Unconnected.

182. When My servants ask thee about Me, lo, I am near to answer the call of the caller when he calls upon Me; so let them respond to Me and believe in Me; mayhap they will go straight.

Misuse of property. Date?

184. Consume not your property amongst you in vanity,[2] and do not dangle it before the judges that ye may in guilt

A relaxation; year VII.

183. It is allowable for you on the night of the fast to go in to your wives; they are a comfort[3] to you, and you to them.

[1] *I.e.* at the time when the declaration is being made.

[2] Perhaps by gambling.

[3] Lit. "covering."

consume a part of the wealth of the people, knowingly.

New moons. Date?

185. They will ask thee about the new moons; say: "They are fixed times for the people, and the pilgrimage; virtuous conduct does not consist in coming to your houses from the back of them, but virtuous conduct is (that of) him who shows piety; so enter your houses by the doors, and show piety towards Allah, mayhap ye will prosper.

Fighting; before Hudaibiya.

186. Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you, but do not provoke hostility; verily Allah loveth not those who provoke hostility.

Possibly followed 186, *but?*

190. The sacred month for the sacred month, things sacred being (subject to the law of) retaliation; so if any make an attack upon you, make a like attack upon them; show piety towards Allah, and know that Allah is with those who show piety.

Contributions. Date?

191. Contribute in the way of Allah; hand not yourselves

[1] Offspring?

Allah knoweth that ye have been defrauding yourselves, and hath relented towards you and forgiven you; so now lie with them and seek what Allah hath prescribed for you,[1] and eat and drink until so much of the dawn appears that a white thread may be distinguished from a black; then keep the fast completely until night, and lie not with them when ye should be closely present in the mosques. These are the limits which Allah hath set, so keep well within them; thus doth Allah make clear His signs to the people, mayhap they will show piety.

Attached to 186 *before final expedition against Mecca.*

187. Slay them wherever ye come upon them and expel them from whence they have expelled you; persecution[2] is worse than slaughter; do not fight them, however, in the precincts of the Sacred Mosque, until they fight you therein, but if they fight you slay them; such is the recompence of the unbelievers.

189. Fight them until there is

188. But if they refrain

[2] Or "dissension."

over to destruction, but do well; Allah loveth those who do well.

no persecution,[1] and religion becomes Allah's; then if they refrain, let there be no enmity, except against the wrong-doers.

(from fighting) then Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Pilgrimage; before Badr, revised at various dates.

192a. Fulfil the pilgrimage and the ʿumra unto Allah.

After Badr.

193. The pilgrimage falls in certain specific months; so if anyone undertakes the pilgrimage in them as a duty, then let there be no sexual commerce, no vice and no wrangling during the pilgrimage; the good ye do Allah knoweth; take provision (for the journey), but the best provision is piety; show piety towards Me, O ye of insight.

Second continuation of 192*a*.

194. It is no fault in you that ye seek bounty from your Lord;[2] so when ye pour out from Arafāt,[3] remember Allah at the Sacred Monument;[4] remember Him as He has guided you, though formerly ye were of those who go astray.

195. Then pour out from where the people have poured out, and ask pardon of Allah; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Late.

192b. But if ye are prevented, then (send) such gift[5] as may be convenient, and shave not your heads until the gift has reached its place; if anyone of you is sick or suffering from an injury to the head, then a compensation by way of fasting or almsgiving or pious observance. When ye are in security, if anyone makes use of (the time from) the ʿumra to the pilgrimage, then such gift as may be convenient, or if he find no gift, a fast of three days during the pilgrimage, and seven when ye return, that is ten altogether; that applies to those whose families are not present at the Sacred Mosque; show piety towards Allah and know that Allah is severe in punishment.

[1] Or "dissension."

[2] *I.e.* take part in trade.

[3] A mountain near Mecca visited on the second day of the pilgrimage, from which the pilgrims hurry in the evening to Muzdalifa.

[4] Said to be a place on the eastern side of Muzdalifa.

[5] *I.e.* animal for sacrifice.

Continuation of 193.

196. So when ye have performed your rites, remember Allah as ye remember your fathers or even more intensely; among the people are some who say: "O our Lord, bestow upon us (wealth) in this world," but who have no portion in the Hereafter.

197. And among them are some who say: "O our Lord, bestow upon us good in this world, and good in the Hereafter, and protect us from the punishment of the Fire."

198. For them is a share of what they have earned, and Allah is quick at reckoning.

First continuation of 192*a*.

199. And remember Allah during a certain number of days; if anyone hasten it over in two days,[1] there is no guilt upon him, if he delay (longer) there is no guilt upon him (at any rate) if he act piously; show piety towards Allah, and know that to Him will ye be gathered.

Perhaps refers to Jews; between Badr and Uhud.

200. Among the people are some whose speech about this present life one might admire, and who call Allah to witness as to what is in their hearts, though they are the most persistent wranglers;

201. And when they turn away, they run about in the land to cause corruption therein, and to destroy the tillage and the stock; Allah loveth not the causing of corruption.

202. When one says to them: "Show piety towards Allah," they are proud of the guilt.[2] Gehenna is what they have to reckon on, a bad bed indeed!

203. But among the people are some who sell themselves for desire of the satisfaction of Allah; and Allah is kindly with (His) servants.

Appeal for unity, replacing vv. 212 *f., of which the beginning has been retained: between Badr and Uhud.*

204. O ye who have believed, enter into the bond of peace[3] altogether, and follow not the footsteps of Satan; verily he is to you a manifest enemy.

[1] The pilgrimage proper usually occupies three days.

[2] Lit. "pride takes them with the guilt."

[3] Usually interpreted as resignation, but the verse is an appeal for unity amongst the prophet's followers.

205. Then if ye slip after that the Evidences have come to you, know that Allah is sublime, wise.

Scraps; unconnected.

206. What prospect have they but that Allah will come to them in the shadow of the clouds with the angels; the affair is decided, and to Allah return (all) affairs.

207. Ask (thou) the Children of Israel how many a clear sign We have brought them; if anyone alter the goodness of Allah after it has come to him, Allah is severe in punishment.

208. This present life is made to seem fair to those who have disbelieved, and they scoff at those who have believed; but those who have showed piety will be above them on the day of resurrection; Allah provides for whom He willeth without accounting.

Later addition.

209. The people were one community; then Allah raised up the prophets as bringers of good tidings and warners, and with them He sent down the Book with the truth to judge amongst the people regarding that in which they had differed; it was only those to whom it had been given who differed in regard to it after the Evidences had come to them, because of jealousy amongst themselves; then Allah guided those who have believed to the truth concerning which they have differed, by His permission; Allah guideth whom He willeth to a straight path.

Original continuation of v. 205.

210. Or did ye think that ye would enter the Garden before there had come to you the like of (what came to) those who have passed away before you? They suffered affliction and distress, and were so tossed about that the messenger[1] and those who had believed with him said: "When (cometh) the help of Allah?" Is not the help of Allah near?

Original Continuation of v. 204*a*.

212. . . . Fighting is prescribed for you, though it is distasteful to you. 213. Possibly ye

Contributions.

211. They will ask thee (for) what they should contribute; say: "The good ye have con-

[1] *I.e.* the messenger to the particular people.

may dislike a thing though it is good for you, and possibly ye may love a thing, though it is bad for you; Allah knoweth, though ye do not know.

Connection not certain.

215. Verily those who have believed, and those who have emigrated and striven in the way of Allah have hope of the mercy of Allah; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

216. They will ask thee about wine and maisar;[1] say: "In both of them there is great guilt, and also uses for the people, but their guilt is greater than their usefulness."

They will ask thee what they should contribute; 217. say: "What ye can spare."[2] Thus does Allah make clear the signs for you, mayhap ye will take thought.

218. in this world and the Hereafter.[3]

tributed is for parents, relatives, orphans, the poor, and the follower of the way;[4] whatever good ye do Allah knoweth."

Sacred months.

214. They will ask thee about the sacred month, fighting therein; say: "Fighting therein is serious, but debarring (people) from the way of Allah and unbelief in Him, and from the Sacred Mosque and expelling its people from it, is in Allah's sight more serious still"; persecution is more serious than killing; nor will they cease to fight you until they turn you from your religion, if they are able; but if any of you turn back from their religion, and die as unbelievers, these (are people) whose works come to nought both in this world and the Hereafter; these are inmates of the Fire, therein abiding.

Orphans.

They will ask thee about the orphans; say: "To set right their affairs is good. 219. If ye intromit with them, (then remember

[1] An Arab game. [2] Lit. the redundant, *vide* Lane *s.v.*

[3] This phrase is unconnected, and is evidently the concluding phrase of 214, written at the foot of the scraps; afterwards, when the rhyme phrase of v. 214 was added, it was crowded in at its proper place.

[4] Cf. v. 172.

they are) brethren; Allah knoweth him who corrupts from him who sets right; if Allah so willed, He might harass you.

Allah is sublime, wise."

Marriage.

220. Do not marry idolatresses until they believe; a believing handmaid is better than an idolatress, even though ye admire her; and do not marry idolaters until they believe; a believing slave is better than an idolater, even though ye admire him. 221. These summon to the Fire, but Allah summons to the Garden and forgiveness, by His permission;

He maketh clear His signs to the people, mayhap they will be reminded.

Menstruation.

222. They will ask thee about menstruation; say: "It is harmful; so withdraw from women in menstruation, and come not near them until they are clean; but when they have purified themselves, come to them as Allah hath commanded you."

Verily Allah loveth those who turn continually in penitence, and loveth those who keep themselves pure.

Marital intercourse.

223. Your women are to you (as) cultivated land; come then to your cultivated land as ye wish, but send forward something for yourselves,[1] and act piously towards Allah, and know that ye are going to meet Him.

Give (thou) good tidings to the believers.

Breaking off marital relations.

226. For those who swear off from their women (let there be) a waiting period of four months; if they return, Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

227. But if they resolve upon divorce, then verily Allah hears and knows.

Oaths in general; year VI. (?).

224. Do not on account of your oaths make Allah an obstacle to your acting virtuously and piously and setting things right amongst the people; Allah hears and knows.

225. Allah will not take you to task for vain words in your oaths, but He will take you to task for what your hearts have amassed; Allah is forgiving, gracious.

[1] *I.e.* to the Judgment; usually interpreted as doing some pious act or uttering a pious phrase before intercourse.

Divorce; possibly of same date as 224 f.

228. Divorced women wait by themselves three courses, nor is it permissible for them to conceal what Allah hath created in their wombs,[1] if they have believed in Allah and the Last Day. Their husbands have the best right to restore them within that period, if they wish to set things right, and in reputable dealing they have the same right as is exercised over them,[2] though the men have a rank above them; Allah is sublime, wise.

229. Divorce (may take place) twice, (with the option of) retaining them reputably or sending them away with kindness; it is not permissible for you to take anything of what ye have given them; unless the two of them fear that they will not be able to maintain the limits set by Allah; if ye fear that they will not maintain the limits set by Allah, then no fault will rest upon them in regard to that by which she may redeem herself.[3]
These are the limits set by Allah, so transgress them not; if any transgress the limits set by Allah, they are wrong-doers.

230. If he divorce her,[4] she is not afterwards permissible for him (to marry) until she marries another husband; then if he[5] divorce her, it will be no fault upon them that they return to each other, if they think they can maintain the bounds set by Allah. These are the bounds set by Allah, He makes them clear to a people who have knowledge.

231. When ye divorce women and they reach the end of the prescribed period,[6] retain them reputably or send them away reputably; do not retain them by compulsion that ye may transgress; if one does that, he has injured himself; do not make mock of the signs of Allah, but remember the goodness which Allah hath shown you and how much of the Book and the Wisdom He hath sent

[1] If they are pregnant.

[2] The intention would appear to be that the spouses should mutually for three months keep the way open for the resumption of marital relations.

[3] Probably later and not very clear; but the meaning apparently is that if the paying over of what belongs to the woman is an obstacle to the final dissolution of a marriage otherwise desired, she may remit some of it by agreement.

[4] Finally, after three months' mutual separation, cf. v. 228; but generally taken to mean a third time, it being allowable to pronounce a threefold divorce at one time.

[5] The second husband.

[6] See v. 228.

down to you to admonish you thereby ; act piously towards Allah, and know that Allah everything doth know.

232. When ye divorce women and they reach the end of the prescribed period, do not vex them because they marry their spouses,[1] when they make an agreement together reputably. That is an admonition to whomsoever of you believes in Allah and the Last Day ; that is more innocent and purer for you ; Allah knoweth though ye know not.

Suckling of Children.

233. Those who bear children suckle their children two full years, for whomsoever wishes the period of suckling to be complete ; it is the duty of him to whom the child is borne to provide reputably for their food and clothing ; no one is to be charged beyond his means, the mother is not to be oppressed by her child nor he to whom the child is borne by his child ; the like duty rests upon the heir. But if the two by mutual agreement and consultation desire weaning (earlier), there is no fault upon them ; and if ye desire to seek nursing for your children, there is no fault upon you when ye hand over what ye have given [2] reputably. Act piously towards Allah and know that of what ye do Allah is observant.

Widows.

234. Those of you who die and leave spouses—let them wait by themselves four months and ten (days) ; then when they reach the end of the prescribed period, there is no fault upon you [3] for what they reputably do with themselves ; Allah of what ye do is aware.

235. There is no fault upon you in regard to any proposals (of marriage) offered to the women or any (intentions) concealed in your hearts ; Allah knows that ye will think of them. But do not pledge them secretly, but only if ye make an honourable proposal ; 236. And do not resolve upon the marriage tie until the Book has reached its term.[4] Know that Allah knoweth what is in your minds ; beware of Him, and know that Allah is forgiving, gracious.

[1] Usually taken to refer to the woman's relatives, if she agrees to return to her former husband, but would more naturally refer to the former husband, in case she elects to marry some one else.

[2] Cf. v. 229.

[3] The Moslem community, or those who supervise its morals.

[4] *I.e.* until the term prescribed above has been reached.

Prayer in War : before year IV.

239. Remember the Prayers, the middle Prayer[1] included, and stand (in worship) to Allah reverently.

240. If ye fear (danger), pray either on foot or mounted, then, when ye are in security, remember Allah according as He hath taught you what ye did not use to know.

Discarded in favour of v. 234.

241. (Let) those of you who die and leave spouses (make) a bequest to their spouses,—maintenance for a year without their having to go out (from their houses); but if they go out (voluntarily) there is no fault upon you in regard to any reputable disposal of themselves they may make; Allah is sublime, wise.

Discarded in favour of v. 228 *f.*

242. Women who are divorced have a right to reputable maintenance—a duty upon those who act piously.

243. Thus doth Allah make clear to you His signs, mayhap ye will understand.

Divorce while the marriage is still unconsummated.

237. There is no fault upon you if ye divorce women while as yet ye have not touched them, or settled any marriage-portion upon them; but provide for them—he who has ample means according to his means, and he who is in straitened circumstances according to his means—a reputable provision; a duty upon those who do well.

238. If ye divorce them before ye have touched them, but have settled a marriage-portion upon them, then (give them) the half of what ye have settled upon them, unless they make some remission, or he in whose hand the bond of marriage is[2] make some remission; that they should make some remission is nearer to piety, but do not forget generosity among you; verily Allah of what ye do is observant.

[1] Usually taken to refer to the 'Aṣr or afternoon prayer, but probably the five times of prayer had not yet been instituted.

[2] Usually interpreted as meaning the husband who may give more than the half; but more probably refers to the woman's guardian.

The Resurrection.

244. Hast thou not considered those who went forth from their dwellings in thousands,[1] in fear of death? Allah said to them: "Die," but afterwards brought them to life,[2] verily Allah is bounteous to the people, but most of the people do not show gratitude.

Fighting; early Medinan.

245. Fight in the way of Allah, and know that Allah is one who hears and knows.

Contributions; early Medinan.

246. Who is there who will lend to Allah a good loan and He will double it for him many times? Allah holds tight, but is open-handed too; to Him will ye be brought back (at last).

Fighting inculcated by example of the Israelites.

247. Hast thou not considered the assembly of the Children of Israel after (the time of) Moses? They said to one of their prophets:[4] "Raise up for us a king and we shall fight in the way of Allah." He said: "Is it possible that, if fighting be prescribed for you, ye will not fight?" They said: "Why should we not fight in the way of Allah seeing we have been expelled from our dwellings and from our children?" But when fighting was prescribed for them, they turned away—except a few of them; Allah knoweth the wrong-doers.

253. These are the signs of Allah which We recite to thee in truth and thou art verily one of those who are sent.

Previous messengers; early Medinan.

254. To some of these messengers We gave pre-eminence over others: among them are some to whom Allah spoke,[3]

248. Their prophet said to them: "See, Allah hath raised up for you Ṭālūt[5] as king." They said: "How should he have the kingship over us, seeing we are more entitled to the kingship than he, and no abundance of wealth has been given him?" He replied: "Allah hath chosen him (to be) over you, and hath increased him amply in know-

[1] Or "a united band."
[2] The story referred to is unknown.
[3] Var. lect. "who spoke to Allah."
[4] Samuel.
[5] Saul; the form is no doubt influenced by that of Jālūt,

and He raised some of them in rank; We gave Jesus, Son of Mary, the Evidences and supported him by the Holy Spirit. Had Allah so willed, those who came after them would not have quarrelled after the Evidences had come to them; but they differed, some of them believed and some of them disbelieved, though if Allah had so willed they would not have quarrelled, but Allah doeth what He wisheth.

Contributions.

255. O ye who have believed, contribute from that with which We have provided you before there comes a day in which there will be neither bargain nor friendship nor intercession; the unbelievers are the wrong-doers.

Allah's sublimity; early Medinan.

256. Allah—there is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal;[1] slumber affects Him not nor sleep; to Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth; who is there that will intercede before Him except by His permission? He knoweth what is before them ledge and stature; Allah bestoweth His kingly power upon whom He willeth; Allah is unrestricted, knowing."

249. Their prophet said to them: "The sign of his kingship will be that the Ark will come to you containing a Sakīna[2] from your Lord, and a relic of what was left by the family of Moses and the family of Aaron, and the angels will bear it; surely in that is a sign for you if ye are believers."

250. Then, when Ṭālūt set out with the forces, he said: "Allah is going to test you by means of a river;[3] he who drinks of it is not of my party, but he who does not taste it is of my party, except that one may scoop up a little with the hand." They (all) drank of it except a few. So when he and those who believed with him had passed over it, they said: "We are not strong enough to-day for Jālūt[4] and his forces." But those who thought that they were destined to meet Allah said: "How many a small band has, by the permission of Allah, conquered a numerous band?

[1] Or "the all-sustaining."

[2] The Hebrew *shekīnā*; in the Qur'ān the word generally has the sense of "assurance," but as this is probably the first occasion of its use, it is doubtful if any such sense is attached to it here.

[3] The story of Gideon here mixes in.

[4] Goliath.

and what is behind them, and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge but what He willeth; His throne extendeth over the heavens and the earth, to guard them wearieth Him not; He is the Exalted, the Mighty.

257. There is no compulsion in religion; rectitude has become clearly distinguished from perversity, so whoever disbelieves in Ṭāghūt [1] and believes in Allah has laid hold upon the firmest handgrip which never gives way; Allah is one who hears and knows.

258. Allah is the patron of those who have believed, who bringeth them out of the darknesses into the light; 259. but of those who have disbelieved the patrons are Ṭāghūt, who bring them out of the light into the darknesses; they are the inmates of the Fire, therein to abide.

The Resurrection; belongs to context of 244.

260. Hast thou not considered him who disputed with Abraham regarding his Lord, (alleging) that Allah had given him the kingship? Abraham said: "My Lord is He who giveth life and causeth death." He said: "I give life and cause death."

Allah is with those who patiently endure."

251. So when they went forth to battle with Jālūt and his forces, they said: "O our Lord, pour out upon us patient endurance, make firm our feet, and help us against the people of unbelievers."

252. So by the permission of Allah they routed them, and David killed Jālūt; and Allah gave him the kingship and the Wisdom, and taught him of whatever He [2] would. Now if Allah had not beaten off one set of the people by means of others, the land would have gone corrupt; but Allah is bounteous to the worlds.

Contributions to the cause of Allah.

263. Those who contribute their wealth in the way of Allah are like a grain which produces seven ears in each of which are a hundred grains. Allah giveth double to whom He willeth; Allah is unrestricted, knowing.

264. Those who contribute their

[1] A borrowed word (Ethiopic), "idols."

[2] Pronoun might refer to David.

Abraham said: "Well then, Allah bringeth the sun from the east, bring thou it from the west." Then he who had disbelieved was taken aback; Allah guideth not the people of wrongdoers.[1]

261. Or like him who passed by a city which had fallen in ruins; he said: "How will Allah bring this to life now that it is dead?" So Allah caused him to die for a hundred years, and then raised him up again, and said: "How many years hast thou remained (dead)?" He said: "I have remained for a day or part of a day." He said: "Nay, thou hast remained for a hundred years; look at thy food and drink; it has not become stale; and look at thy ass—in order that We may make thee a sign to the people—and look at the bones how We shall make them stand up and clothe them with flesh." So when it became clear to him, he said: "I know that Allah over all things hath power."[2]

wealth in the way of Allah and do not follow up what they have contributed with obligation and insult, have their reward with their Lord; fear rests not upon them nor do they grieve.

265. Reputable speech and forgiveness are better than alms followed by insult; Allah is rich, gracious.

266. O ye who have believed, do not make your alms of no effect by obligation and insult, like him who contributes what he has for the sake of appearances before the people, without believing in Allah and the Last Day; he may be compared to a smooth rock with earth upon it—a heavy rain falls upon it and leaves it bare. They have no power over anything that they may have amassed, and Allah doth not guide the people of unbelievers.

267. But those who contribute their wealth out of desire to please Allah and as a support from themselves, may be compared to a garden on a fruitful hill—a heavy rain falls upon it, and it then renders its produce in double measure, and if no heavy rain falls upon it there is dew. Allah of what ye do is observant.

[1] This verse is usually taken as referring to Nimrod, but no source for the story has been discovered.

[2] No satisfactory source of this story has been discovered; it perhaps rests upon a mingled reminiscence of Ezekiel's vision (chap. xxxvii.) and the story of Baruch (*vide* Mueller in *Z.D.M.G.* 42).

262. (Recall) when Abraham said; "O my Lord, show me how Thou givest life to the dead." He said: "Hast thou not believed?" He replied: "O yes, but that my heart may be at peace." He said: "Then take four of the birds and incline them to thyself,[1] then place on each hill a part of them, and call them; they will come to thee running; know that Allah is sublime, wise." [2]

Explanation of 266.

268. Would any one of you like to have a garden of palm trees and vines with rivers running through it and containing all kinds of fruits; old age has come upon him and he has an offspring of weaklings; then a whirlwind with fire strikes it, and it is burnt up? Thus does Allah make clear the signs for you, mayhap ye will take thought.[3]

Allah's gifts the best; revised and 273a *added.*

271. Satan promises you poverty and urges you to indecency;
But Allah promises you forgiveness from Himself and bounty;
272. He giveth the Wisdom to whomsoever He willeth. He to whom the Wisdom has been given, has been given manifold good, but none are reminded except those of insight.

Allah is wide (in bounty), knowing.

Contributions.

269. O ye who have believed, contribute of the good things which ye have acquired, and of that which We have produced for you from the earth, and do not design what is corrupt thereof for contributing,
270. Seeing that ye would not be the ones to take it except by winking the eye at it; know that Allah is rich, praiseworthy.

273b. If ye give alms publicly it is well, but if ye conceal it and give it to the poor, it is better for you;

273a. Whatever contribution ye make, and whatever vow ye vow, Allah knoweth it, and the wrong-doers have not a helper.

[1] Sense uncertain.

[2] This is no doubt founded on some confused reminiscence of Gen. xv. 9 ff.

[3] Vv. 266–68 seem to contain reminiscences of Matt. vii. 24 ff., xiii. 3 ff., and perhaps Isa. v. 1 ff.

274a. Thou art not responsible for their guidance, but Allah guideth whom He willeth. and it[1] will wipe away from you some of your evil deeds; Allah is well aware of what ye do.

Destination of contributions; early Medinan revised.

274b. The good which ye contribute is for your own advantage, though ye contribute only from desire of the countenance of Allah; whatever good ye contribute will be repaid you in full, without your being wronged.

275. Those who contribute their wealth, by night or by day, secretly or openly, have their reward with their Lord; fear rests not upon them nor do they grieve. for the poor, who have been restricted in the way of Allah, and are therefore unable to knock about in the land; the ignorant think them rich because of their self-restraint; but one may recognise them by their mark; they ask not importunately of the people; whatever good ye contribute, Allah knows of it.

Usury: fairly early Medinan; altered later.

276. Those who consume usury will not arise[2] except as he arises whom Satan has overthrown by the touch;[3]

277. Allah blotteth out usury and causeth alms to bear interest; Allah loveth not any infidel guilty.

Those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness, observed the Prayer, and paid the Zakāt have their re- that is for their having said: "Bargaining is just the same as usury," though Allah hath permitted bargaining, and forbidden usury. Now he to whom there comes an admonition from his Lord and he desists, retains what is past,[4] and his affair is in the hands of Allah; but if

[1] Or "He," but the clause joins to 273b.
[2] *I.e.* at the Judgment.
[3] *I.e.* probably, demoniacal possession, madness.
[4] *I.e.* he will not be called upon to repay what he has already taken.

ward with their Lord; fear rests not upon them, nor do they grieve.

Usury to cease; later than 276a.

278. O ye who have believed, show piety towards Allah, and abandon the usury which remains[1] (unpaid) if ye are believers.

279. If ye do it not, be apprised of war from Allah and His messenger; but if ye repent ye retain your capital, no wrong being done on either side.

280. But if he[2] be in difficulties, (grant) indulgence till easier times, and that ye give (it) as alms is better for you, if ye knew.

281. Protect yourselves against a day on which ye will be brought back to Allah, and then every one will be paid in full what he has amassed, without being wronged.

284. To Allah belongeth what is in the heavens, and what is in the earth; whether ye reveal what is within you or conceal it, Allah will reckon with you for it, and will forgive whom He willeth, and punish whom He willeth; Allah over everything hath power.

he repeat (the offence)—such are the inmates of the Fire, therein to abide.

Recording of debts; late.

282. O ye who have believed, when ye contract a debt one to the other for a stated term, write it down; let some one who is able to write, write it down justly between you, and let not anyone who is able to write refuse to do so, according as Allah hath taught him; let him write, and let the one who owes the debt dictate, and let him show piety towards Allah his Lord and not diminish aught thereof; if he who owes the debt be stupid, or in weak health, or be not able to dictate himself, then let his patron dictate with fairness. Call in two of your men as witnesses, or if there be not two men, then a man and two women of such as ye agree upon from among those present, so that if one of them[3] go astray, the other may remind her; and let not the witnesses refuse whensoever they may be called upon. Disdain not to write it down, be it small or great, (stating) the term up to which (it holds). That is more equitable in the sight of Allah, more definite for

[1] *I.e.* cease taking usury from this time onward, even though it has been bargained for.

[2] *I.e.* the debtor.

[3] The women.

witnessing, and more suited to avoid your being in doubt—

Profession and Prayer of Believers; early Medinan.

285a. The messenger has believed in what has been sent down to him from his Lord and the believers also; each one has believed in Allah and His angels, and His Books, and His messengers; we make no distinction between any of His messengers;

285b. And they said: "We hear and obey; Thy forgiveness, O our Lord, to Thee is the trend."

286a. Allah lays not upon anyone more than he has capacity for, what he has gained stands to his credit, what he has piled up stands against him.

Connects with 285*a*.

286b. O our Lord, take us not to task if we forget, or make a mistake; O our Lord, lay not upon us a task such as Thou laidest upon those who were before us; O our Lord, load not upon us what we are not capable of bearing; pardon us and forgive us, and have mercy upon us; Thou art our patron, so help us against the people of unbelievers.

unless it be present merchandise that ye are circulating amongst you; then there will be no fault upon you for not writing it down; but take witnesses when ye bargain with each other;

only let neither writer nor witness be injured,[1] if ye do so it is iniquity on your part. Show piety towards Allah; Allah teacheth you, and Allah everything doth know.

283. If ye be on a journey and do not find anyone who can write, (let there be) a pledge taken; but if one of you trust another, let him who is trusted pay what is entrusted to him, and let him show piety towards Allah his Lord; do not conceal the evidence; if anyone does so, his heart is guilty; Allah what ye do doth know.

[1] Or perhaps better, "do an injury to either party"; the form of verb used may be either active or passive.

SURAH III

This surah is composite and in several parts very confused. That it is not a unity is shown by the rhyme which at the beginning and at the end is in -ā(*b*), while in the middle that in -ī(*n*) prevails. The first half belongs probably to the year II, not long after Muhammad began to produce a Book. When the introduction was composed in its original form, he was still concerned to maintain the continuity of his messages with previous revelation, though assuming independence for his Book. As in surah II., however, earlier material was probably utilised for the composition of this chapter. The passages which follow the introduction cannot very well be dated, but there can hardly be any doubt that vv. 30 ff. are based on an account of Zechariah and Mary earlier than the Book-period. This passage dealing with Christian subjects has been revised several times, and in the process the rhyme in -ā(*b*) has given place to that in -ī(*n*). The passages which follow, all with the latter rhyme, belong to the time shortly after the break with the Jews. They vary in tone from half-hearted appeal to hostile criticism. That they have been revised is shown by the alternative conclusions which appear in several places. The beginning of the surah has also been revised. Verse 5ab was introduced into the introduction, or perhaps displaced v. 2—this probably late. Vv. 10, 11 were inserted, probably as a substitute for 8, 9 after Badr and probably not long before Uhud. Verse 16 was revised, made to rhyme in -ī(*n*) and continued by 20–24 which are directed against the Jews. Verse 27a may belong to the same time as this alteration or be later. The danger of Jewish intrigue causing defection amongst Muhammad's supporters seems to have been a pressing one, for the final revision of the passages from 58 onwards points to their use as warnings to his followers against giving ear to them. This leads up to the direct appeal introduced by v. 97 of which there are several versions; first, an eschatological deterrent to defection; second, an appeal for the formation of an independent Moslem religious community; third, a strong appeal for unity. Whether this latter was originally

composed in face of the danger of Meccan attack is uncertain, but it seems to have been used to introduce an encouraging address to the Moslems before Uhud, of which portions are found scattered through the following part of the surah. It was used again after Uhud and definitely pointed against the Jews by an alteration introduced at 106b, and extending to 110. The following passage 114–116 probably also belongs to about the same time, no doubt before the attack on the Banī Naḍīr. The reactions of Muhammad to the defeat at Uhud are reflected in 117–174, with the exception of 125–130 which is a later condemnation of usury written on the back of discarded passages. He seems to have passed from self-reproach (original form of 117–124 ; 155(?)), to exasperation with his followers (revision of 117–124 ; original form of 145–148). Both of these were probably diplomatically suppressed. Instead, part of the encouraging address before Uhud was revised and redelivered. Finally they are forgiven in the revised form of 145–147, 149 ; the defeat is made light of, and praise and blame dispensed. The latter falls mainly on the party of Abdullah b. Ubayy. The rest of the surah consists of detached passages the date of which cannot be certainly determined, but some of which seem to have been rejected from preceding sections of the surah. In particular, vv. 187–192 seem to be the original continuation of v. 1, and v. 200 belongs to the time immediately before Uhud.

Sūrat Āl 'Imrān—Chapter of the Family of 'Imrān.

The Book : v. 1 *early Medinan ;* 2, 5*c.*, 6*f., year II or III ;* 5*ab a later insertion.*

1. Alif Lām Mīm.
   Allah, there is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal ;
2. He hath sent down to thee the Book with the truth, confirming what was before it, and He sent down the Torah and the Evangel aforetime as guidance for the people, and He sent down the Furqān.

3. Verily for those who have disbelieved the signs of Allah there is a punishment severe ; Allah is sublime, wielder of vengeance.

5. He it is who hath sent down to thee the Book ; in it are clearly formulated verses ; these are the essence [1] of the Book ; other (verses) are ambiguous. Now as for those in whose hearts

[1] Lit. " mother."

4. Verily from Allah nothing is hid, either in the earth or in the heaven ; He it is who forms you in the wombs, as He pleases ; there is no god but He, the Sublime, the Wise.

is an inclination to fall away, they follow the ambiguous part of it, out of desire of dissension, and seeking its explanation, though no one knows its explanation except Allah ;

Connects with v. 2.

5c. And those well-grounded in knowledge say : " We believe in it, all is from our Lord.

5d. no one takes warning but those of insight.

6. " O our Lord, do not incline our hearts to go astray, after having guided us, and give us mercy from thyself ; Thou art the Giver.
7. O our Lord, Thou art going to gather the people to a day of which there is no doubt " ; verily Allah will not fail the appointment.

Fate of Unbelievers ; 8, 9 *perhaps at same time as the preceding ;* 10, 11 *substituted before Uhud.*

8. As for those who have disbelieved, their wealth and their children will not avail them anything against Allah ; they are fuel of the Fire ;
9. After the fashion of the family of Pharaoh and those before them, who counted Our signs false, and Allah took hold of them for their sins ; Allah is severe in punishment.

10. Say to those who have disbelieved : " Ye will be overthrown and driven in a flock to Gehenna—a bad bed ! "
11. Ye have already had a sign in two parties which met,[1] one fighting in the way of Allah, another unbelieving, who saw them with their eyes twice as many as they were ; [2] Allah supporteth with His help whom He willeth ; surely in that is a lesson for those who have sight.

This life and the Hereafter ; possibly same time as 8, 9.

12. Made attractive to the people is the love of desires, wives and children and hoarded hoards of

Islam ; perhaps originally private, year II, revised later.

16. Allah hath testified that there is no god but He, likewise the angels and the people

[1] At Badr.
[2] Or " as themselves " : the pronouns in the Arabic are ambiguous.

gold and silver, and excellent[1] horses, cattle, and land; such are the goods of this present life, but with Allah is the best place of resort.

13. Say: "Shall I tell you of something better than that? For those who have acted piously are, with their Lord, Gardens through which the rivers flow, in which to abide, and pure spouses and goodwill from Allah; Allah is observant of (His) servants."

Later addition to 12, 13.

14. Who say: "O our Lord, we have believed, so forgive us our sins, and protect us from the punishment of the Fire";

15. The patient, the truthful, the obedient, the contributors, of knowledge; dispensing justice, there is no god but He, the Sublime, the Wise.

17. Verily the religion in Allah's sight is Islam; and those to whom the Book has been given did not differ until after the knowledge[2] had come to them, out of jealousy among themselves; if anyone disbelieves in the signs of Allah, Allah is quick to reckon.

18. So if they dispute with thee, say: "I have surrendered myself[3] to Allah, likewise those who have followed me," 19. and say to those to whom the Book has been given, and to the common folk:[4] "Have ye surrendered yourselves?" If they surrender themselves, they have let themselves be guided, but if they turn away—thou art only responsible for the proclamation, and Allah is observant of (His) servants.

Attack on the Jews; continues 16*b*.

20. Verily those who disbelieve in the signs of Allah, and kill the prophets wrongfully, and kill those of the people who urge justice—give them tidings of punishment painful.

[1] Lit. "marked," therefore "special," "distinguished"; or adopting another possible derivation of the word: "well-fed."

[2] *I.e.* of revealed religion.

[3] Lit. "my face"; *i.e.* have become a Moslem.

[4] Lit. "those belonging to the community"; but perhaps slightly depreciatory, like the Jewish *'am hā'ārez*.

the askers of forgiveness in the mornings.

21. These are they whose works have come to nought in this world and the Hereafter, nor have they any helpers.

Address to Allah ; early Medinan.

25. Say : " O Allah, owner of the (kingly) power, Thou givest the power to whom Thou willst, and withdrawest the power from whom Thou willst ; Thou exaltest whom Thou willst and abasest whom Thou willst ; verily Thou over all things hast power.

26. Thou causest the night to interpenetrate the day, and the day to interpenetrate the night ; Thou bringest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living ; Thou providest for whom Thou willst without reckoning."

22. Hast thou[1] not seen those to whom a portion of the Book has been given being called to the Book of Allah that it might judge between them ;[2] then a part of them turned away averting themselves,?

23. That is because they say : " The Fire will not touch us except for a certain number of days." They have been deluded in their religion by what they have been inventing.

24. But how (will it be) when We gather them to a day of which there is no doubt, and each one will be paid in full what he has earned, without being wronged ?

Scraps ; of uncertain date, but probably Medinan.

27b. Say : " Whether ye conceal what is in your hearts or reveal it, Allah knows it ; He knoweth what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and Allah over everything hath power."

28. On the day when each one will find presented the good which he has done and the evil

Prohibition of friendship with unbelievers ; shortly before Uhud (?)

27a. Let not the Believers take the Unbelievers as friends in preference to the Believers ; if anyone does that, he is not of Allah's party at all ; unless it be that ye are in some measure afraid of them ; Allah warns you to beware of Himself, and to Allah is the trend.

[1] Or indefinite " Has one not. . . ,"

[2] Cf. v. 87.

he has done he will wish that between him and it there were a wide space; Allah warns you to beware of Himself; Allah is kindly with (His) servants.

29a. Say: "If ye love Allah, follow me, and Allah will love you and will forgive you your sins; Allah is forgiving, compassionate."

29b. Say: "Obey Allah and the messenger"; then if they turn away—Allah doth not love the unbelievers.

Birth and Mission of Jesus; c. year II, but revised, perhaps twice, later.

30. Verily Allah hath chosen Adam and Noah, the family of Abraham and the family of 'Imrān[1] above the worlds;
descendants one of the other, Allah is one who hears and knows.

31. (Recall) when the wife of 'Imrān said: "O my Lord, I vow to Thee what is in my belly, dedicated (to Thy service);
accept (it) from me, verily Thou art one who hears and knows."
Then when she was delivered of it, she said: "O my Lord, what I have been delivered of is a female;"
—Allah knew quite well what she had been delivered of; the male is not like the female—
"I have named her Mary, and I seek refuge with Thee for her and her progeny from Satan the stoned."

32. So her Lord vouchsafed her a good acceptance, and caused her to shoot up a goodly growth. Zechariah took charge of her.
Whenever Zechariah entered the sanctuary to see her, he found beside her provisions.
Said he: "O Mary, how hast thou this?" She replied: "It is from Allah; Allah provides for whom He willeth without reckoning."

33. There Zechariah called upon his Lord, and said: "O my Lord, give me from Thyself a good offspring; verily Thou art the hearer of prayer."
So the angels called to him while he was yet standing praying in the sanctuary: 34. "verily Allah giveth thee tidings of Yaḥyā,[2]

[1] Amram, father of Moses and of Miriam = Mary.

[2] Probably derived from a misreading of the consonantal outline of *Yuḥannā* = John.

confirming a word from Allah, a leader, abstinent, a prophet, one of the upright."

35. Said he: "My Lord, how shall I have a youth, seeing that old age has come upon me and my wife is barren?" He replied: "So (shall it be), Allah doeth as He willeth."

36. He said: "My Lord, appoint for me a sign." He replied: "Thy sign is that thou shalt not speak to the people for three days except by gesture; but remember thy Lord often and give glory in the evening and the morning."

37. (Recall) when the angels said: "O Mary, verily Allah hath chosen thee and purified thee, and chosen thee above the women of the worlds.

38. O Mary, be obedient to thy Lord, prostrate thyself and bow with those who bow."

39. That is one of the stories of the unseen, which We give thee by inspiration; thou wast not with them when they cast their pens (to decide) which of them should take charge of Mary, nor wast thou with them when they were contending.

40. (Recall) when the angels said: "O Mary, Allah giveth thee tidings of a word from Himself whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, an eminent one in this world and the Hereafter, one of those brought near.

41. And he will speak to the people in the cradle and as grown man, one of the upright."

42. She said: "My Lord, how shall I have a child, seeing no man hath touched me"; He said: "So (shall it be), Allah createth what He willeth, when He decideth upon a thing, He simply saith 'Be!' and it is."

43. And He will teach him the Book and the Wisdom and the Torah and the Evangel.

and a messenger to the Children of Israel:[1]

44ab. "and confirming what is before me of the Torah, and that I may make allowable for you some things which have been forbidden to you; I

"I have come to you with a sign from your Lord (to wit) that I shall create for you from clay the form of a bird and I shall breathe into it and it will become a bird by the permission of Allah, and I shall heal the blind, and the leprous, and bring the dead to

44c. "Verily Allah is my Lord and your Lord, so serve Him, this is a straight path."

[1] This was probably intended to follow "Hereafter" in v. 40; see note, p. 65.

life by the permission of Allah, and I shall announce to you what ye may eat, and what ye may store up in your houses ; verily in that is a sign for you, if ye are believers."

have brought you a sign from your Lord, so act piously towards Allah and obey me."

45. So when Jesus perceived unbelief on their part, he said : " Who are my helpers [1] towards Allah ? " The Apostles replied :

46. " O our Lord, we have believed in what Thou hast sent down and followed the messenger ; so write us down among the witnesses."

" We are the helpers of Allah, we have believed in Allah, do thou testify that we are Moslems ? "

47. They plotted and Allah plotted, but Allah is the best of plotters.[2]

48. (Recall) when Allah said : " O Jesus, I am going to bring thy term to an end and raise thee to Myself, and purify thee from those who have disbelieved ; and I am going to set those who have followed thee above those who have disbelieved until the day of resurrection ; then to Me do ye return and I shall judge between you in regard to that in which ye have been differing.

49. " As for those who have disbelieved, I shall punish them with a violent punishment in this world and in the Hereafter and for them are no helpers."

50. As for those who have believed and done the works of righteousness, He will pay them their rewards in full ; Allah loveth not the wrong-doers.

51. So much do We recite to thee of the signs, and the wise Reminder.

Jesus a creature ; later insertion.

52. Jesus in Allah's eyes is in the same position as Adam ; He created him of dust, then said to him " Be ! " and he is.

53. The truth from thy Lord, so be not of those who dubitate !

54. If anyone dispute with thee concerning him after the knowledge which has come to thee, say : " Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, ourselves and yourselves, then let us make earnest prayer and lay the curse of Allah upon those who lie."

55. This is certainly the true account ; there is nothing of the nature of a god except Allah ; Allah is the Sublime, the Wise.

56. If then they turn away—Allah knoweth the corrupters.

[1] Anṣār. [2] Verse 47 perhaps followed 44c.

Appeal for accommodation with Jews and Christians ; possibly year II.

57. Say : " O People of the Book, come to a word (which is) fair between us and you, (to wit) that we serve no one but Allah, that we associate nothing with Him, and that we do not take one the other as Lords apart from Allah " ; if then they turn away, say ye : " Bear witness that we are Moslems."

Abraham neither Jew nor Christian ; year II, repeated with different endings.

58. O People of the Book, why do ye dispute about Abraham, seeing that the Torah and the Evangel were not sent down till after his time ? Have ye no sense ?
59. There ye are ! Ye have disputed about a thing of which ye have (revealed) knowledge ; why then will ye dispute about things of which ye have no knowledge ? Allah knoweth, but ye do not know.
60. Abraham was not a Jew, nor was he a Christian, but he was a Ḥanīf, a Moslem, and he was not one of the Polytheists.
61. Surely, the people who are nearest to Abraham are those who followed him, and this prophet and those who have believed ; Allah is the patron of the believers.

64. O People of the Book, why do ye confuse the true with the false, and conceal the truth, when ye know ?

63. O People of the Book, why do ye disbelieve the signs of Allah, though ye are witnesses ?

62. A party of the People of the Book would like to lead you astray, but they lead no one astray but themselves without being aware.

A Jewish ruse ; year II (?) revised.

65. A party of the People of the Book have said : " Believe in what has been sent down to those who have believed at the beginning of the day, and disbelieve at the end of it, perhaps they will return ;
66. " But do not believe that there is given to anyone the like of what has been given to you, or they will dispute anyone but those who follow your religion." Say : " The guidance is Allah's guidance.

with you in the presence of your Lord";[1] Say: "Bounty is in the hand of Allah; He giveth it to whomsoever He willeth; Allah is unrestricted, knowing."

67. He singles out with his mercy whomsoever He willeth; Allah is the wielder of mighty bounty."

Jews untrustworthy; year II (?).

68. Among the People of the Book are those who, if one entrusts them with a talent, will pay it back; but among them are others who, if one entrusts them with a dīnār, will not pay it back, except so long as one remains standing over them. 69. That is because they say: "We are not open (to punishment) in regard to the common people."[2] They speak falsehood about Allah, knowingly.
70. On the contrary, if one fulfils his covenant and acts piously, Allah loveth those who act piously.
71. Verily those who buy a small gain at the cost of the covenant of Allah and their oaths will have no portion in the Hereafter, and Allah will neither speak to them nor look at them on the day of resurrection, nor will He purify them; for them is (in store) a punishment painful.

Jewish oral law not part of the Book.

72. A part of them twist their tongues in the Book, that ye may think it to be a bit of the Book, though it is not a bit of the Book, and say: "It is from Allah," though it is not from Allah; they speak falsehood about Allah knowingly.
73. It was not for a human being that Allah should give him the Book and the jurisdiction[3] and the prophetic office, and that he should then say to the people: "Be ye servants to me apart from Allah," but: "Be ye rabbis in virtue of your teaching[4] the Book, and in virtue of your having studied (it)."
74. He[5] does not command you to take the angels and the prophets as Lords; will He command you to (show) unbelief after ye are Moslems?

[1] *I.e.* probably "dispute your position as the favoured people of God."
[2] Those belonging to the community, *i.e.* Arabs.
[3] Or "Wisdom."
[4] Or according to another reading, "knowing."
[5] Probably Allah; but usually taken as referring to the man who is given the prophetic office.

Jews do not keep their Covenant; year II (?), probably repeated later.

75. (Recall) when Allah took the covenant of the prophets: "Whatever Book and Wisdom I may have given you and there comes to you a messenger confirming what is with you, ye shall believe in him and help him." He said: "Do ye assent and take up my task on that (condition)?" They replied: "We assent"; He said: "Bear witness then, and I am with you among those who bear witness."
76. So whoever turns away after that—they are the reprobate.
77. Do they desire some other religion than that of Allah, when to Him surrenders whosoever is in the heavens and in the earth, willingly or unwillingly, and to Him are they made to return?
78. Say: "We have believed in Allah, and what has been sent down to us, and what has been sent down to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the Patriarchs, and what was given to Moses and Jesus and the prophets from their Lord; we make no distinction between them, and we to Him do surrender." [1]
79. If anyone desires any other religion than Islam, it will not be accepted of him, and in the Hereafter he will be among the losers.

Renegades; year III.

80. How will Allah guide a people who have disbelieved after having believed, and (after) they have testified that the messenger is true and the Evidences have come to them? Allah doth not guide the people (who are) wrong-doers.
81. Their reward is that upon them is the curse of Allah, and the angels and the people as a whole;
82. Therein to abide without the punishment being lightened from off them and without their being respited.

Contributions; early Medinan.

86. Ye will not attain to virtuous conduct until ye contribute of what ye love; whatever thing ye contribute, Allah of it doth know.

Later addition.

83. Except those who have afterwards repented and acted uprightly; then verily Allah is forgiving, compassionate.
84. Those who have disbelieved after having believed, and have

[1] *I.e.* "are Moslems."

Food laws ; c. year II.

87. Every kind of food was allowable to the Children of Israel, except what Israel made forbidden to himself before the Torah was sent down.[1] Say: "Bring the Torah then and recite it, if ye speak the truth."

88. So whoever invents falsehood about Allah after that—they are the wrong-doers.

89. Say: "Allah hath spoken truth, so follow the creed of Abraham (who was) a Ḥanīf, and was not one of the Polytheists."

then increased in unbelief—from them repentance will not be accepted; they are the ones who go astray.

85. Those who have disbelieved and have died as unbelievers—from one of them not the full of the earth of gold, were he to offer it as a ransom, would be accepted; for them is a painful punishment and they will have no helpers.

Pilgrimage a duty ; before Badr.

90. The first house founded for the people was that at Bakka,[2] a blessed (house) and a guidance to the worlds.

91. In it are signs, Evidences—the station of Abraham, and the security of him who enters it; pilgrimage to the house is due to Allah from the people, whoever is able to make his way thither.

92. But if anyone disbelieves, Allah is rich beyond need of the worlds.

Possibly alternative endings to 87, 88 *; discarded.*

94. Say: "O People of the Book, why do ye turn aside from the way of Allah those who have believed, desiring it to be crooked, though ye are witnesses? Allah is not neglectful of what ye do."

93. Say: "O People of the Book, why do ye disbelieve the signs of Allah and Allah a witness of what ye do?"

Warning to believers ; year II (?).

95. O ye who have believed, if ye obey a part of those to whom the Book has been given, they will render you unbelievers again after your having believed.

96. And how can ye disbelieve when ye have the signs of Allah recited to you, and His messenger is amongst you? He who seeks defence in Allah, has been guided to a straight path.

[1] Cf. Gen. ix. 3; xxxii. 32.

[2] *I.e.* Mecca.

Warning to believers, originally year II, revised ; 98 f., just before Uhud.

97. O ye who have believed, fear Allah with the fear which is due to Him, and die not except as Moslems.

98. And seek defence in the bond of Allah as one body, and do not separate up ; remember the goodness of Allah to you when ye were enemies ; He knit you together and by His goodness ye became brethren ;

99. Ye were on the brink of a pit of the Fire and He rescued you from it. Thus doth Allah make His signs clear for you, mayhap ye will let yourselves be guided.

100. And let there be (formed) of you a community inviting to good, urging what is reputable and restraining from what is disreputable ; such are the prosperous.

101. Be not like those who separated and went different ways after the Evidences had come to them ; for them is a punishment mighty.

102. On the day when (some) faces will become white and (some) faces will become black, as for those whose faces have become black: "Did ye disbelieve after having believed ? Then taste the punishment for the unbelief ye have been showing."

103. As for those whose faces have become white—in the mercy of Allah (will they be) therein to abide.

104. These signs of Allah do [1] We recite to thee in truth ; Allah intends not wrong to the worlds.

105. To Allah belongs what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, and to Allah are brought back (all) affairs.

Continuation of address before Uhud.

106. Ye have become the best community ever produced for the people urging what is reputable and restraining from what is disreputable, and believing in Allah.

111. For the good that ye do ye will not be treated with ingratitude, for Allah knoweth those who act piously.

Preparatory to attack on Banī Naḍīr.

If the People of the Book had believed it would have been

[1] Or "these are the signs of Allah which . . ."

112. Verily the wealth and children of those who have disbelieved will not avail them against Allah at all; they are the inmates of the Fire therein to abide.

113. What they contribute in this life is like a frosty wind which strikes the tillage of a people who have done wrong to themselves, and destroys it; Allah hath not wronged them but themselves are they wronging.

.....

better for them; some of them are believers, but most of them are the reprobate.

107. They will not injure you except (by) annoyance; and if they fight you, they will turn you their backs, and then they will not be helped.

108. Humiliation is stamped upon them, wherever they may be come upon, unless in a bond from Allah and a bond from the people. They have settled under anger from Allah, and poverty is stamped upon them. That is because they have been disbelieving in the signs of Allah, and slaying the prophets unjustly—that is, for the opposition and enmity they have been showing.

109. They are not all alike; there is a community of the People of the Book which is steadfast reciting the signs of Allah at the drawing on of night, prostrating themselves,

110. Believing in Allah and the Last Day, urging what is reputable and restraining from what is disreputable, and vying in good deeds; these are the upright.[1]

Relations to be broken off.

114. O ye who have believed, choose not bosom friends outside yourselves; they will not fail you in disloyalty; they like what you are distressed at; hatred has appeared on their lips, but that which their hearts conceal is greater; We have made the signs clear to you, if ye have been understanding.

115. There ye are! Ye love them but they love not you; ye believe in the Book, all of it, and when they meet you, they say: "We have believed"; but when they are alone, they bite their fingers at you for anger. Say: "Die in your anger, verily Allah knoweth what is in the breasts."

116. If ye have a touch of good, it annoys them, but if an evil befall you, they rejoice at it. If, however, ye endure and act piously their cunning will not harm you at all; verily Allah comprehendeth what they do.

[1] May perhaps refer to the Banī Quraiẓa, or possibly to the Christians.

Rebuke to Muhammad, after Uhud ; revised as a rebuke to his followers ; then discarded.

117. (Recall) when thou didst go forth early from thy household to settle the believers in positions for the battle ; Allah hears and knows.

Before Uhud ; followed v. 113.

118. (Recall) when two sections of you were on the point of flinching, though Allah was their patron ; in Allah let the believers place their trust.

119. Allah hath already helped you at Badr, when ye were insignificant ; act piously towards Allah then, mayhap ye will show thankfulness.

120. (Recall) when thou wert saying to the believers : " Will it not suffice you that your Lord reinforces you with three thousand of the angels sent down ?

121. " Ay ! if ye endure and act piously, and they come upon you in this very rush of theirs, your Lord will reinforce you with five thousand of the angels, designated."

122a. Allah only set that forth as good news for you, that your hearts thereby might be at peace ;

122b. Help cometh only from Allah, the Sublime, the Wise.

122c. that He might cut off a flank of those who have disbelieved, or might cast them down, so that they would retire disappointed ;

123a. Thou hast nothing to do with the affair ;

123b. or might relent towards them, or might punish them ; for they are wrong-doers.

124. To Allah belongs what is in the heavens and what is in the earth ; He forgiveth whom He willeth, and punisheth whom He willeth ; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Prohibition of Usury ; some time after Uhud.

125. O ye who have believed, live not on usury doubled twice over, but act piously towards Allah ; mayhap ye will prosper.

126. And protect yourselves against the Fire which has been prepared for the unbelievers. And obey Allah and the messenger, mayhap ye will be mercifully treated.

127. And hasten towards forgiveness from your Lord and a Garden wide as the heavens and the earth prepared for those who act piously.

128. Who contribute in prosperity and in adversity, who restrain their anger and deal leniently with the people; Allah loveth those who do well.

Scraps of uncertain date.

131. Precedents have happened before your day; travel about in the land and see of what nature was the latter end of those who counted (the message) false.

132. This is an explanation for the people, a guidance and an admonition for those who act piously.

Later addition to 125–128.

129. Who, when they commit an indecency, or a wrong against themselves, remember Allah and ask forgiveness for their sins—and who forgiveth sins but Allah?—and do not persist in what they have done, when they know (better).

130. The recompence of such is forgiveness from their Lord, and Gardens through which the rivers flow, in which to abide—good is the hire of those who labour!

Continuation of address before Uhud, following v. 119; *repeated with alterations after Uhud.*

133. Do not grow faint and grieve, now that ye have the upper hand, if ye be believers.

134. If a hurt affect you, a similar hurt has already affected the enemy; These days We cause to alternate amongst the people and (it is) in order that Allah may know those who have believed, and may choose martyrs from amongst you;
Allah loveth not the wrong-doers;

135. And that Allah may purge those who have believed, and sift out the unbelievers.

136. Or did ye think that ye would enter the Garden without Allah first knowing those of you who strove with all their might, and knowing those who endure?

137. Ye have been desiring death before ye met it, so now ye see[1] it, looking it in the face.

139. But it is not given to any-one to die except by permission

138. Muhammad is only a messenger; before him the mes-

[1] Lit. "have seen"; but this does not necessarily imply that the battle has taken place; but may mean that it was looming ahead.

of Allah written and dated; to him who desires the reward of this world, We shall give (a share) of it, and to him who desires the reward of the Hereafter, We shall give (a share) of it; We shall recompense those who show gratitude.

sengers have passed away. If then he dies or is killed, will ye turn back upon your heels? If anyone turns back upon his heels, he will not injure Allah at all; Allah will recompense those who show gratitude.

140. How many a prophet (has there been) along with whom many thousands fought, and did not grow faint because of what befell them in the way of Allah, nor did they weaken or humble themselves!—Allah loveth those who endure.

141. All that they said was: "O our Lord, forgive us our sins and our extravagance in our affair, set firm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people."
So Allah gave them the reward of this world and the good reward of the Hereafter—Allah loveth those who do well.

142. O ye who have believed, if ye obey those who have disbelieved, they will send you back upon your heels and ye will return losers.

143. Nay, Allah is your patron, and He is the best of helpers.

144. We shall cast terror into the hearts of those who have disbelieved for their having associated with Allah what He never sent down any authority for; their resort is the Fire; bad is the lodging of the wrong-doers.

Allah's promises fulfilled; after Uhud, perhaps intended to follow 120 ff., but suppressed and used in revised form.

145. Allah made good His promise to you when ye were sweeping them away by His permission, until when ye flinched and vied in withdrawing from the affair, and disobeyed after He had shown you what ye love;

146b. Then He turned you from them, that He might try you.

147a. (Recall) when ye were making for the skyline[1] without turning aside for anyone though the messenger was calling to you from behind you; so He recompensed you with distress upon distress;

146a. Some of you wish this world and some of you wish the Hereafter,

146c. but He hath pardoned you;—Allah is bounteous to the Believers,

147b. in order that ye may not grieve for what ye have missed or for what has befallen you;

[1] Lit. "going up."

147c. Allah is aware of what ye do.

148. Then after the distress, He sent down upon you security—

Private.

148c. They conceal within themselves what they do not reveal to thee, saying: "If we had had any say in the affair, we should not have been killed here." Say: "If ye had been in your houses, those who were written down as to be killed, would have sallied out to the places where they lie."

Inserted a little later.

148b. a languor which came over part of you, but a part of you were concerned about themselves, thinking about Allah what is not true—the thoughts of Paganism, saying: "Have we any say in the affair at all?" Say: "The affair belongs to Allah entirely."

and (it was) that Allah might try what was in your breasts and sift out what was in your hearts; Allah knoweth your inmost thoughts.

The offence excused, may possibly be intended to follow 147*b*, 148 *being omitted; or perhaps be earlier than the revision of above passage.*

149. As for those of you who turned away on the day when the two hosts met, it was Satan who sought to trip them up for something that they had earned; Allah hath overlooked their offence, Allah is forgiving, kindly.

Private; after Uhud.

153. As by the mercy of Allah, thou hast been mild to them—and if thou hadst been rough and hard of heart they would have disbanded from about thee—overlook (now) their offence and ask pardon for them; consult them in the affair, and when thou hast made up thy mind place thy trust upon Allah; Allah loveth those who place their trust (upon Him).

Comfort for mourners; after Uhud.

150. O ye who have believed, do not be like those who have disbelieved, and who say with regard to their brethren when they knock about in the land or are on raids: "If they had been at home they would not have died or been killed"—that Allah may lay that as an anguish upon their hearts. It is Allah who giveth life and who causeth to die, and Allah of what ye do is observant.

From the address before Uhud.

154. If Allah help you, no one can overcome you; but if He abandon you, who will help you after Him? Upon Allah let the believers place their trust.

151. Surely if ye are killed in the way of Allah or die, forgiveness and mercy from Allah are better than what ye bring together.

From address before Uhud; perhaps intended to be repeated after v. 151.

152. Surely if ye die or are killed, to Allah will ye be gathered.

Private; after Uhud (?).

155. It was not the part of a prophet to swindle;[1] he who swindles will come on the day of resurrection with what he has swindled; then each one will be paid in full what he has earned, and they will not be wronged.

Context uncertain.

156. Is he then who follows after the approval of Allah like him who settles under anger from Allah, and whose resort is Gehenna—a bad place to go to?

157. They are (set in) degrees with Allah; and Allah is observant of what they do.

Appeal to the loyalty of his followers; after Uhud.

158. Surely Allah bestowed a favour upon the believers when He raised up amongst them a messenger, one of themselves, to recite His signs to them, to purify them (by almsgiving) and to teach them the Book and the Wisdom, although they had formerly been in manifest error.

159. When then a misfortune has fallen upon you which is already balanced twice over by what ye have acquired, will ye say: "How is this?" Say: "Ye are yourselves to blame; Allah over all things hath power."

Purpose of the defeat; after Uhud, revised.

160. What befell you on the day when the two hosts met was by the permission of Allah, and in order that He might know the believers and in order that He might know

162. those who, having stayed behind, asked to come and fight in the way of those who played the hypocrite;[2] they were

[1] This is said to refer to Muhammad's dealings with part of the spoil taken at Badr.

[2] Or "who crept to their holes (like mice)." This is probably the origin of the epithet *munāfiqīn* = Hypocrites.

say regarding their brethren: "If they had obeyed us, they would not have been killed." Say: "Repel death from yourselves then if ye speak the truth."

Allah or to defend, but they said: "If we knew of fighting,[1] we would follow you." They were that day nearer to unbelief than to belief, 161. saying with their mouths what was not in their hearts, but Allah knoweth what they conceal.

State of the dead; early Medinan, revised after Uhud.

163. Count not those who have been killed in the way of Allah as dead, nay, alive with their Lord, provided for,

164. Delighting in what Allah hath vouchsafed them of His bounty and rejoicing at (tidings of) those who, left behind, have not yet joined them, that fear rests not upon them nor do they grieve.

165. rejoicing at (tidings of) goodness from Allah and bounty, and that Allah doth not allow the reward of the believers to go to waste.

Scraps of uncertain date.

169. That is only Satan frightening his clients, so do not fear them, but fear Me, if ye be believers.

170. Let not those who are emulously hasty in unbelief grieve thee; they will not injure Allah at all, Allah intends to appoint them no good-fortune in the Hereafter, and (in store) for them is a punishment mighty.

171. Verily those who have bought unbelief at the expense of belief will not injure Allah at all, and (in store) for them is a punishment painful.

Praise for those who followed the Meccans retiring after Uhud.

166. For those who responded to Allah and the messenger after the hurt had fallen upon them, for those of them who did well and acted piously is (in store) a reward mighty;

167. To whom the people said: "The people[2] have collected (forces) for you, so be afraid of them." But it increased them in belief, and they said: "It is on Allah that we count, and good the trustee."

168. So they returned with goodness and bounty from Allah, without evil having touched them. They followed after the approval of Allah, and Allah wields bounty mighty.

[1] Probably implying that the enterprise was too foolhardy to be called real fighting.

[2] *I.e.* the enemy.

Victory not a sign of Allah's favour to the Meccans ; after Uhud.

172. Let not those who have disbelieved think that such respite as We give them is for their good ; We give them respite simply that they may increase in guilt, and for them is a punishment humiliating.

173. Allah is not one to leave the believers in the situation in which ye are until He distinguishes the bad from the good ; [1]

174. Nor is Allah one to let you observe the unseen,[2] but Allah chooseth of[3] His messengers whom He willeth ; so believe in Allah and His messengers, if ye believe and act piously there is for you a reward mighty.

Withholding of contributions ; after Uhud.

175. Let not those who stingily withhold the bounty which Allah hath bestowed upon them think that it is good for them ; nay, it is bad for them ; 176. what they have stingily withheld will be hung about their necks on the day of resurrection. To Allah belongs the inheritance of the heavens and the earth, and Allah of what ye do is aware.

Retort to the Jews ; an early Medinan passage revised probably after Uhud.

177. Allah hath certainly heard the words of those who said : " Surely Allah is poor and we are rich." We shall write down what they have said, along with their killing of the prophets wrongfully, and We shall say : " Taste the punishment of the burning ;

178. " That is because of what your hands have sent forward, and because Allah is not a wronger of His servants."

179. those who said : " Allah hath pledged us not to believe in any messenger until he comes to us with a sacrifice which fire consumes." 180. Say " Messengers have come to you before me with the Evidences, and with what ye speak of ; why then did ye kill them, if ye speak the truth ? "

181. If then they count thee false, messengers have already before thy time been counted false who came with the Evidences and the Psalms and the illuminating Book.

[1] *I.e.* till doomsday ; cf. viii. 38.

[2] *I.e.* the future.

[3] Or " to be of His messengers."

Hope of future reward ; belongs to context of 100 *f.* (*?*).

182. Everyone is subject to death, and it is on the day of resurrection that ye will be paid your rewards in full ; then he who is removed from the Fire and taken into the Garden will have come off well ; this present life is only an illusory enjoyment.

183. Ye will no doubt be afflicted in goods and person, and will hear many annoyances from those to whom the Book has been given before you, as well as from the polytheists ; but if ye endure and act piously, that is one of the determining factors of affairs.

Covenant of People of the Book ; discarded in favour of 75 (*?*).

184. (Recall) when Allah took the covenant of those who were given the Book : " Ye shall surely make it clear to the people and shall not conceal it " ; but they threw it behind their backs, and bought with it a small gain—bad is what they buy !

Contributions ; connection doubtful.

185. Think not that those who rejoice in what they have brought, and like to be praised for what they have not done—think not that they are in a place of safety from the punishment ; for them is a punishment painful.

186. To Allah belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and Allah over all things hath power.

Signs for believers ; early Medinan, perhaps followed v. 1 ; *vv.* 193–195 *later.*

187. Verily in the creation of the heavens and the earth, and in the alternation of night and day are signs for those of insight ;

188. Who remember Allah, standing and sitting and (lying) on their sides, and meditate on the creation of the heavens and the earth : " O our Lord, Thou hast not created this in vain ; glory be to Thee ! protect us from the punishment of the Fire.

189. O our Lord, whomsoever Thou wilt cause to enter the Fire, Thou wilt have abased, and for the wrong-doers there are no helpers.

190. O our Lord, we have heard one summoning to belief (saying): ' Believe in your Lord,' and we have believed.

191. O our Lord, forgive us our sins and expiate from us our evil deeds, and unite us in death with the pure.

192. O our Lord, give us also what Thou hast promised us on (the

assurance of) Thy messengers, and abase us not on the day of resurrection ; verily Thou wilt not fail the appointment."

193. Then their Lord responded to them : " I shall not let the work of anyone of you go to waste, whether male or female, ye belong to each other. 194. Those who have emigrated, have been expelled from their dwellings, have suffered annoyance in My cause, have fought and been killed—from them I shall expiate their evil deeds, and cause them to enter Gardens through which the rivers flow " ; 195. a reward from Allah, and with Allah is the best of the reward.

Encouragement for the prophet ; early Medinan.

196. Let not the fact that those who have disbelieved move to and fro in the country delude thee—a little temporary enjoyment, then their lodging is Gehenna ; a bad bed !

197. But for those who act piously towards their Lord are Gardens through which the rivers flow in which to abide—an entertainment from Allah, and what is with Allah is best for the pure.

Some Jews (?) believe ; perhaps discarded from the early part of the Surah.

198. Among the People of the Book are some who believe in Allah and what has been sent down to you and what has been sent down to them, humbling themselves to Allah and not bartering the signs of Allah for a small price ; 199. Such have their reward with their Lord ; verily Allah is quick at reckoning.

Exhortation to steadfastness ; just before Uhud (?).

200. O ye who have believed, endure, pit endurance against endurance, furnish (riding animals) and act piously towards Allah, mayhap ye will succeed.

Additional Note on Vv. 40 ff.

Vv. 40–42, if closed with the words " Jesus," " grown man," " willeth," show the *-ā-* assonance which appears in the beginning of the surah. They have been adapted to the later rhyme by additions at the end. Verse 43a was probably added when this was done, as it has the later rhyme. The phrase " and a messenger to the Children of Israel " also has this rhyme, but connects grammatically with " an eminent one " in v. 40. It is an alternative ending to that verse and served to introduce the account of Jesus' message in each of its various forms, the intervening verses being omitted when it was used. The relative date of these changes is uncertain. The passage evidently stood in its present form when surah V, 109 f., were composed.

SURAH IV

This surah probably belongs in the main to the years IV and V, but earlier material has been utilised, partly in revised form, partly as discarded passages on the back of which other deliverances have been written, and additions may have been made at a later time. Verse 1, originally followed by 26 (?), 27, 31, is early Medinan, as Muhammad is still in the matter of marriage-laws, assimilating his religion to that of the People of the Book. (It may be noted that no group of letters is prefixed to this surah, an indication perhaps that the beginning is earlier than the resolve to produce a Book.) This, however, after being modified by the addition of 29 and the substitution of 32a for 31, was discarded, and v. 1 retained as the introduction to the regulations for inheritance, vv. 12–18. These have been written on the back of vv. 2–11 which dealt with the property of orphans. The recommendation of polygamy as a means of providing for female orphans in v. 3, though later than the context was probably present when 12–18 was written, and as this was probably occasioned by the acuteness of the problem immediately after Uhud, 12-18 must date from some considerable time after that event. The caution in 3b may date from a later time. Vv. 23–25 are probably somewhat later than 12–18; they have been written on the back of 19–22, which are early Medinan, 21, 22 perhaps somewhat later than the rest. When the discarded passage 27 ff. (*vide* above) was transformed into a permission of mut'ah-marriage by the addition of 28 to 27, the omission of the rest and substitution of 32b for 32a, it is impossible to say, unless we assume it to date from about the same time as the inheritance-rules, as its position would suggest. In 33–37 an early passage has been revised apparently about the time that the inheritance rules were laid down; but a clause in 37 has been added later, and 38 f. perhaps at the same time. The revision of early material resumes at 40 and continues to 46. Vv. 47–60 consists of pieces from an early date, on the back of which have been written vv. 61–72, in which Muhammad puts forward the claim to be, as Allah's representative,

the supreme arbiter of all causes in Medina. This is resisted by the Jews with the moral support of the "Hypocrites." It is doubtful if, in the period between the defeat at Uhud and the expulsion of the Banī Naḍīr, he was in a position to put forward such a claim, and all we can say is that there must still have been Jews in Medina when this passage was produced. In vv. 73–80, prosecution of the war with Mecca is urged. Verse 79 appears to belong to the time when the war was first proclaimed, but v. 80 is an echo of iii., 148c, and is therefore later than Uhud. As the beginning of the passage suggests that some unfortunate experience has preceded, it may have been occasioned by the mishap at Bi'r Ma'ūna in Ṣafar of year IV. Vv. 81–89 again consist of scraps which have been used for the writing of 90–93. This latter passage is difficult to understand. The Munāfiqīn, or Hypocrites, are usually the party of Abdallah b. Ubayy. But we have no record of any such drastic measures having been applied to them, as are here prescribed. On the other hand, it corresponds to the treatment meted out to the Banī Naḍīr. We must either assume that they are here designated as Munāfiqīn, or that this was part of what was suppressed after Uhud; cf. iii., 153. The passage 81–83, 85, 86 (which is broken by an early Medinan or Meccan scrap, 84, on which an insertion was made into the later deliverance) belongs to the time just after Uhud. It was probably not meant for publication, and shows Muhammad recovering from the depression caused by the defeat. Abuses on the part of Moslem warriors are restrained in vv. 94–96. Vv. 97, 98 are confused and probably consist of an early passage and its revision. Vv. 99–101 recommend emigration to Moslem territory, no doubt with the object of increasing the strength of the prophet's supporters. Moslem influence seems to be fairly extended, but tradition sets the passage early; this may be true of v. 99. The *ṣalāt al-Khauf*, vv. 102–105, is usually associated with the expedition to Dhāt ar-Riqā' (year IV.) but v. 103a is a later addition. Vv. 106–115 were originally a private passage reproving the prophet for leniency, but 109–112 were evidently addressed to the people; so that the passage was probably published later with the addition of these verses, and perhaps the omission of 113–115. Vv. 116–125 consist of early Medinan material, which has been used for the writing of 126–129—the disproportionate length is due to the fact that v. 118 did not belong to the original passage 116–121. Vv. 130–133 are confused and probably represent an early Medinan

passage and its revision jumbled together. It has been discarded and used for the writing of 134. Vv. 135 f. are fairly early, but 136 has been made the beginning of an attack upon the Hypocrites, which continues, on the back of scraps, which have become mixed up with it, to v. 145. In 149 ff., we have a passage dating from the time of acute controversy with the Jews, as does also 152 ff. This latter passage has, however, been subjected to several revisions, and is very confused as it stands. The same may be said of vv. 161–168. Vv. 169–171 can only refer to Christians, and the designation of them as People of the Book would seem to imply that the Jews had fallen out of the centre of controversy. Verse 169 may, however, be fairly early, and 170, 171 have been later added, on the back of 172. The position of 173 is doubtful; it may belong either to 172 or to 170, 171, or it may be a scrap on the back of which, and of 174, the detached deliverance 175 was written. In this a modification was made upon the regulation contained in v. 15, and the principle that a male's share should be twice that of a female, was applied to the property of one who had no direct heirs.

Sūrat an-Nisā'—Chapter of the Women

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Introduction to treatment of relationships; early Medinan.

1. O ye people, act piously towards your Lord, who created you from one individual, and from him created his spouse, and from the two spread abroad many men and women; act piously towards Allah concerning whom and the wombs [1] ye bandy questions to and fro —verily Allah hath become [2] of you regardful.

Treatment of orphans; v. 3 shortly after Uhud, rest earlier; late insertion in v. 3.

2. Bestow upon the orphans their property; do not substitute the bad for the good, and do not con-

Inheritance of relatives; considerably later than Uhud.

12. In regard to your children Allah charges you (as follows); The male receives the portion of

[1] *I.e.* blood-relationships: the questions are with regard to Allah's regulations on this matter.

[2] The use of the perfect tense in the end-phrases of verses in this surah has no significance beyond producing the rhyme.

sume their property in addition to your own—verily it has become a great crime.

3. If ye fear that ye may not act with equity in regard to the orphans, marry such of the women as seem good to you, double or treble or fourfold—

but if ye fear that ye may not be fair, then one (only) or what your right hands possess ;[1] that is more likely to secure that ye be not partial[2]—

and give the women their dowries[3] as a gift ;[4] if, however, they of their own pleasure give up some of it to you, enjoy it with satisfaction and good conscience.

4. But do not give to those of weak intellect the property which Allah has appointed you to manage, but feed them and clothe them and speak to them in reputable fashion.

5. Make trial of the orphans until they reach (the age of) marriage, then if ye perceive right management in them, hand over their property to them ; do not consume it in extravagance or in anticipation 6. of their growing up ; let him who is rich restrain himself (from touching two females ; if they be women,[5] more than two, then they receive two-thirds of what a man has left, but if there be only one, she receives a half ; his parents receive, each of them a sixth of what he has left, if he have children ; but if he have no children and his parents heir him, then his mother receives a third ; if, however, he have brothers, his mother receives a sixth—(this) after any bequests he may have made or debts (have been paid) ; whether your fathers or your sons are of most benefit to you[6] ye know not—an ordinance from Allah, verily Allah hath become knowing, wise.

13. A half of what your wives leave belongs to you if they have no children ; if they have children, a fourth of what they leave belongs to you, after any bequests they may have made or debts (have been paid) ; 14. to them belongs a fourth of what ye leave, if ye have no children ; if ye have children, an eighth of what ye leave belongs to them, after any bequests ye may have made or debts (have been paid).

[1] *I.e.* slaves.

[2] Or " be not over-burdened with children."

[3] The meaning is not quite certain.

[4] The object of this is to provide for the good management of the property of female orphans. If they be taken in marriage it will be the interest and responsibility of the husband to see to it. But if they are thus married out of charity, as it were, they are not to be denied their dowries.

[5] *I.e.* if there be no male children.

[6] Or " most entitled to benefit by you."

it) and let him who is poor use it reputably; 7. then when ye hand over their property to them, call witnesses against them—Allah is sufficient reckoner.

8. To the men belongs a portion of what their parents and near relatives leave, and to the women belongs a portion of what their parents and near relatives leave, be it little or much; a (legally) assigned portion.

9. When the relatives, the orphans, and the poor are present at the division, provide for them out of it, and speak to them reputably.

10. Let those who if they (themselves) were to leave behind them a weak posterity would be afraid on their account, beware; let them act piously towards Allah, and pronounce a straightforward decision.

11. Verily those who consume the property of orphans wrongfully, only consume fire in their own bellies, and will eventually roast in the Blaze.

Indecent Conduct.

Fairly early Medinan; 21, 22 perhaps later than 19, 20; late insertion in 19.

19. Those of your women who commit indecency—
call four witnesses against them, and if they testify—

15. If a man—or a woman—whose property falls to be inherited have no direct heirs, but have a brother or a sister, each of the two receives a sixth; if there be more than that, they share in the third, after any bequests he may have made or debts (have been paid) 16. without prejudice one to the other; a charge from Allah; verily Allah is knowing, gracious.

17. These are the limits laid down by Allah; whoso obeys Allah and His messenger He will cause to enter Gardens through which the rivers flow, to abide therein—that is the great success.

18. But whoso opposes Allah and His messenger and transgresses the limits laid down by Him He will cause to enter a Fire to abide therein, and for him is a punishment humiliating.

Property of Wives.

Probably an addition to the regulations in 12–18.

23. O ye who have believed, it is not permissible for you to heir women[1] against their will; and do not tyrannise over

[1] Ambiguous; usually taken as referring to an old Arab custom of inheriting wives; but more probably refers to putting pressure on a wife to compel her to bequeath her property to the husband.

confine to (their) houses until death complete their term (of life) or Allah appoint for them a way (of dealing with them).

20. The couples[1] among you who commit it, revile, and if they repent and reform, turn from them; verily Allah has become relentant, compassionate.

21. But it is in favour of those who do evil in ignorance, and then repent shortly after, that Allah is bound to relent; towards them Allah will relent; verily Allah hath become knowing, wise.

22. The relenting is not in favour of those who go on committing evil deeds until when one of them is in the very presence of death he says: "I repent now!"; nor in favour of those who die while they are still unbelievers. For such We have prepared a punishment painful.

them that ye may go off with part of what ye have given them, unless it be that they commit a manifest indecency; associate reputably with them; if ye dislike them, it is possible that ye may dislike a thing in which Allah hath set much good.

24. If ye wish to replace a wife by another, even if ye have given one of them a talent,[2] take nothing from it. Would ye take it by slander and manifest guilt?

25. How can ye take it seeing ye have come together, one with the other, and they have accepted from you a firm compact?

Marriage Laws.

Early Medinan; originally followed v. 1 (*?*).

26. Do not marry women whom your fathers have had in marriage —except so far as it is already past—it has become indecent, and abhorrent, and evil as a way (of acting).

Early Medinan; followed v. 1, *with or without the intervention of* 26. *Modified early; radically altered in sense later.*

27. Forbidden to you are your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your paternal aunts, your maternal aunts, brothers' daughters,

[1] There is no reason to interpret this as referring to offences between males.

[2] *I.e.* any sum however large as marriage-price.

sisters' daughters, those who are your mothers by having suckled you, those who are your sisters by suckling, the mothers of your wives, those who are under your care (daughters) of wives to whom ye have gone in—but if ye have not gone in to them there is no blame upon you—the lawful (wives) of your sons of your own loins, and that ye should have two sisters at the same time, except so far as it is already past; Allah hath become forgiving, compassionate.

31. Allah desireth to make things clear to you, and to guide you in the customs of those who were before you and to relent towards you; Allah is knowing, wise.

29. Those of you who cannot wait until they marry believing women who are under ward (may take) of those whom your right hands possess,[1] believing maid-servants; Allah knoweth your belief, ye are one people,[2] so marry them with the permission of their households, and give them their hire (but) reputably as being (now) under ward, not committing debauchery or receiving paramours. 30. If then, having been taken under ward, they commit an indecency, they shall be subject to half the punishment to which those under ward[3] are subject; that is for those of you who fear sin, only it would be better for you that ye should exercise patience; Allah is forgiving, compassionate. 32a. Allah desireth to relent towards you, but those who

28. And women who are under ward,[4] except those whom your right hands possess[5]—the rescript of Allah for you. What is beyond that, it is allowable for you to seek (to obtain) by means of your property, taking (them however) under ward and not committing debauchery; those of them whom ye enjoy by means of it pay their hire as stipulated, and there will be no blame upon you in regard to anything ye may give them by mutual agreement beyond the stipulated

[1] *I.e.* slaves.

[2] Lit. "one of you is part of the other."

[3] *I.e.* those who have always been under ward.

[4] Usually taken as referring to married women; but probably as elsewhere referring to respectably housed and guarded women whether married or not. Towards them the licence of this mut'ah-marriage is not to be used.

[5] As usual "slaves"; but here often interpreted in conjunction with the preceding clause as captives whose marriage is annulled by capture.

follow lusts desire that ye should fall mightily away.

amount; verily Allah hath become knowing, wise.
32b. Allah desireth to make it light for you, for man was created weak.

Early Medinan Legislation; revised.

Gambling and murder.

33. O ye who have believed, do not consume your property among you in vanity,[1] except there be trading by mutual consent on your part; verily Allah hath become with you compassionate.
and do not kill each other,[2] 34. whoever does that in enmity and wrong We shall one day roast in fire; for Allah that is easy.
35. If ye avoid the main things ye are forbidden to do, We shall expiate from you your evil deeds, and give you a noble entrance.

Covetousness; revised to refer to inheritance.

36. Do not covet what Allah hath bestowed in bounty upon one more than another, but ask Allah for some of His bounty; verily Allah hath become one who everything doth know.
To men belongs a portion of what they have gained for themselves, and to women a portion of what they have gained for themselves; 37. and to each We have appointed inheritors,[3] of what parents and near relatives and those with whom ye have made a covenant[4] leave.[5]
so give them their share; verily Allah hath become of everything a witness.

[1] Gambling (?).
[2] Lit. "do not kill yourselves."
[3] Viz. in the preceding regulations.
[4] Meaning uncertain, but probably the covenant is that of marriage.
[5] This seems to be a marginal addition, possibly intended to follow "share."

Late addition.

38. The men are overseers over the women by reason of what Allah hath bestowed in bounty upon one more than another, and of the property which they have contributed ;[1] upright women are therefore submissive, guarding what is hidden[2] in return for Allah's guarding (them) ; those on whose part ye fear refractoriness, admonish, avoid in bed, and beat ; if they then obey you, seek no (further) way against them ; verily Allah hath become lofty, great.
39. But if ye fear a breach between the two, set up an arbiter from his people and an arbiter from her people ; if they desire to set the matter right, Allah will bring agreement between them ; verily Allah hath become one who knoweth and is well-informed.

Religious duties.

40. Serve Allah, and do not associate anything with Him ; (show) to parents kindness ; also to relatives, orphans, and the poor, to the person under your protection be he relative or not, to the companion by your side, to the follower of the way,[3] and to what your right hands possess ; verily Allah loveth not any crafty boaster.

Withholding of Contributions.

Vv. 41–44, *probably one verse, before Uhud ; rhyme-phrases and* 45 *later.*

41. Those who are niggardly, and urge the people to niggardliness, and conceal the bounty which Allah hath bestowed upon them, We have prepared for the unbelievers a punishment humiliating.
42. And those who expend their wealth for show before the people, not believing in Allah and the Last Day, whoever has Satan for his mate, a bad mate has he !
43. What harm would it do them if they were to believe in Allah and the Last Day and contribute some of that with which Allah hath provided them ? About them hath Allah come to know.
44. Verily Allah doeth not a grain's weight of wrong, and if it is a good deed, He doubleth it, and bestoweth from Himself a mighty hire.
45. So how will it be when We bring from each community a witness, and We bring thee against them as a witness ;
On that day, those who have disbelieved and opposed the

[1] Probably the marriage-price.
[2] Or "keeping guard during (their husbands') absence." [3] *Vide* ii. 172.

messenger will wish that the earth were levelled over them ;[1] but from Allah will they not conceal anything.

Respect for the Prayer.

First half early ; addition made c. year V.

46. O ye who have believed, come not nigh the Prayer when ye are intoxicated, until ye know what ye say ; nor (when ye are) polluted, unless ye be travellers on the road, until ye wash yourselves—if ye be sick, or on a journey, or if one of you come from the privy, or if ye have touched women, and do not find water, sand yourselves with dry[2] good (sand), and rub your faces and your hands ; verily Allah hath become disposed to overlook and forgive.

Perversity of the Jews. Originally before Uhud ; 47b inserted later, in place of 48, 49.

47. Has one not seen those to whom a part of the Book has been given ;

48. Those, namely who have judaised,[3] altering words from their position, and saying : "We hear and rebel," and "Hear" something that is not made audible,[4] and "Shepherd us," twisting their tongues and making a botch in religion ?

49. If they had said : "We hear and obey," and buying error and wishing that ye would err as regards the way ? Allah knoweth your enemies; Allah is sufficient as patron, Allah is sufficient as helper.

Honourable discharge of Trusts ; before Yaum al-Khandaq.

61. Verily Allah commands you to pay back to their owners things entrusted to you, and when ye judge between the people to judge with justice ; it is a good admonition which Allah gives you ; Allah hath become one who hears and clearly sees.

Disputes to be referred to Muhammad as Allah's representative ; same time.

62. O ye who have believed, obey Allah and obey the messenger and those of you who have the command, and if ye quarrel about anything, refer it to Allah and the messenger, if ye have come to believe in

[1] Or possibly "were made equal with them," *i.e.* taken as their ransom.

[2] Lit. "high," generally interpreted to mean "lying on the surface."

[3] A play on the name Yahūd.

[4] Probably refers to the Jewish manner of reciting the "*Shĕma'*" ; for the other phrases cf. ii. 87, 98.

"Hear and regard us" it would have been better for them and more correct; but Allah hath cursed them for their unbelief, so they do not believe, except a little.

Appeal to the People of the Book. Before Uhud (?); phrase inserted later.

50. O ye to whom the Book has been given, believe in what We have sent down in confirmation of what is in your hands before We obliterate countenances and turn them on their backs or curse them[1] as We cursed the fellows of the Sabbath and the affair of Allah has become accomplished.

Polytheism unforgivable. Original conclusion of 40 *(?).*

51. Allah will not forgive the association of anything with Himself, though He forgives anything short of that to whom He willeth; he who associates anything with Allah has devised a mighty (deed of) guilt.

Assurance of Jews (and Christians ?). Date (?); probably early.

52. Hast thou not seen those who hold themselves justified? Nay, Allah will hold justified whom He pleaseth, and they will not be wronged a straw.[2]

Allah and the Last Day; that is better and fairer in interpretation.

Jews prefer heathen Judges, and the Hypocrites abet them; same time.

63. Hast thou not seen those[3] who say that they have believed in what has been sent down to thee and in what has been sent down before thy time, desiring to carry their disputes to Ṭāghūt, though they have been commanded to disbelieve in it? Satan desires to lead them far astray.

64. When one says to them: "Come to what Allah hath sent down and to the messenger," thou seest the Hypocrites making an effort to turn (people) away from thee.

65. How then (will it be) when a misfortune falls upon them for what their hands have sent forward, and they then come to thee swearing "By Allah, we only meant kindness and support"?

66. These are they the thoughts of whose hearts Allah knoweth; so turn from them and admonish them, and speak to them about themselves an effectual word.

67. We have not sent any

[1] There is here a change of pronoun which is obscured in English.

[2] Lit. "the fibre of a date-stone."

[3] Probably the Banī Quraiẓa.

53. Look how they devise falsehood against Allah; it is sufficient as a manifest (deed of) guilt.

Jews prefer the idolaters. Between Badr and Uhud (?).

54. Has not one seen those to whom a part of the Book has been given believing in Jibt [1] and Ṭāghūt, and saying to those who have disbelieved: "These are better guided as to the way than those who have believed"?

55. These are they whom Allah hath cursed, and for whomsoever Allah hath cursed one will not find a helper.

Jews jealous of Moslems. Possibly connects with preceding.

56. Or have they a share in the (kingly) power? [2] Well, in that case they do not give the people a speck.

57. Or are they jealous of the people on account of the bounty which Allah hath bestowed upon them? Well, We have bestowed upon the family of Abraham [3] the Book and the Wisdom, and We have bestowed upon them mighty power.

58. Some of them have believed in it, and some of them have turned (others) away from it—Gehenna is a big enough Blaze!

messenger but that he might be obeyed by the permission of Allah, and if, when they wrong themselves, they were to come to thee and ask pardon of Allah, and the messenger were to ask pardon for them, they would find Allah relentant and compassionate.

68. No! by thy Lord, they do not believe until they make thee judge in their tangles, and do not afterwards find difficulty in thy decisions but assent (to them) heartily.

69. If We had prescribed for them (such a command as) "Kill yourselves," or "Go forth from your dwellings," only a few of them would have done it; if they had done as they were admonished to do, it would have been better for them and would have established (them) more securely.

70. In that case We should have bestowed upon them from Ourselves a mighty hire and should surely have guided them in a straight path.

71. Those who obey Allah and the messenger are with the prophets and the faithful and the witnesses [4] and the upright upon whom Allah hath bestowed favour; good company are these!

[1] No explanation of this word has been found.

[2] If connected with the preceding passage, this may hint that the Jews were attempting to guide the policy of Medina, but this is doubtful.

[3] *I.e.* the Arabs, or Muhammad as their representative.

[4] Or "martyrs."

59. Verily those who have disbelieved Our signs, We shall roast in fire; whenever their skins are cooked to a turn, We shall substitute new skins for them, that they may feel the punishment; verily Allah is sublime, wise.

60. But those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness, We shall cause to enter Gardens through which the rivers flow, to abide therein for ever, in which there are for them pure spouses, and We shall lead them into sheltering shade.

72. That is bounty from Allah, it is enough that Allah knoweth.

Moslems urged to war against the Meccans.
Some considerable time after Uhud.

73. O ye who have believed, take precautions and march out in companies, or march out all in a body.

74. There are some among you who fall behind, then, if a misfortune befall you, they say: "Allah hath bestowed favour upon us, in that we have not along with them become martyrs." [1]

75. But if bounty from Allah fall to your lot, they say—as if there had not been friendship between you and them—"Would that I had been with them; great success would I have gained."

76. So let those who barter this present life for the Hereafter, fight in the way of Allah; upon whomsoever fights in the way of Allah and is killed or overcomes, We shall in the end bestow a mighty hire.

77. What is wrong with you that ye fight not in the way of Allah and the oppressed, men, women, and children, who say: "O our Lord, take us out of this city of wrong-doing people,[2] and appoint for us from Thine own side a patron, and appoint for us from Thine own side a helper"?

78. Those who have believed are fighting in the way of Allah, and those who have disbelieved are fighting in the way of Ṭāghūt, so fight the friends of Satan; verily the craft of Satan has become weak.

[1] Or perhaps simply "have not been present with them."
[2] *I.e.* Mecca.

Some Moslems averse to Fighting.

Verse 79 *possibly early Medinan ; v.* 80 *certainly after Uhud.*

79. Hast thou not looked at those to whom it was said : " Restrain your hands, observe the Prayer, and pay the Zakāt," then when fighting is prescribed for them, there is a part of them fearing the people as much as they fear Allah or even more ; they say : " O our Lord, why has Thou prescribed fighting for us ? Why not keep us back to a term not far off ? "[1] Say : " The enjoyment of this life is a little thing, the Hereafter is better for those who show piety, and they will not be wronged a straw.

80. Wherever ye may be, death will overtake you, even though ye were in strongly built towers." If good falls to their lot, they say : " This is from Allah," but if evil befalls them, they say : " This is from thee " ; say : " Everything is from Allah." What is the matter with these people ? They hardly understand anything.

Reproof and Encouragement. Private ; shortly after Uhud.

81. The good which has fallen to thy lot is from Allah, the evil which has befallen thee is from thyself ; We have sent thee as a messenger to the people ; Allah is sufficient witness.

82. Whoever obeys the messenger has obeyed Allah, but if any turn away—well, We have not sent thee as a guardian over them.

83. They profess obedience but when they go forth from thy presence, a party of them give house-room (in their minds) to other things than what thou sayest, but Allah writeth down what they give house-room to ; so turn from them and place

Drastic measures against the Hypocrites. After Uhud, but date uncertain.

90. What is the matter with you ? Two parties in regard to the Hypocrites ? Though Allah hath overwhelmed them for what they have earned ! Do you wish to guide those whom Allah hath sent astray ? For those whom Allah hath sent astray, one will not find a way.

91. They would like you to disbelieve as they have disbelieved, and then you would be alike ; so take not any of them as friends, until they migrate in the cause of Allah ; if then they turn back, take them and slay them wherever ye find them ; choose not from amongst them friend or helper.

[1] *I.e.* till death in the natural course.

thy trust upon Allah, Allah is sufficient trustee.

Early Medinan (or Meccan) scrap.

84. Do they not then consider the Qur'ān? If it were from any other than Allah, they would find in it many a contradiction.

Join to 83.

85. When anything comes to them, be it of security or of alarm, they spread it abroad, when, if they were to refer it to the messenger and those who have the command amongst them, those of them who might investigate it would know it. Had it not been for the bounty and mercy of Allah towards you, ye would have followed Satan, except a few.

86. So fight thou in the way of Allah, thou art responsible for none but thyself, but urge on the believers; possibly Allah will restrain the martial ardour of those who have disbelieved; Allah is stronger both in martial ardour and in chastisement.

Scraps of uncertain date.

87. He who makes a good intercession will have a share of (the merit of) it, but he who makes a bad intercession will have the responsibility for it; Allah with power over everything is furnished.

92. Except such as make their way to a people between whom and you there is a compact, or come to you with their breasts straitened that they should fight against you or fight against their (own) people. Had Allah so willed, He would have given them authority over you, and then they would certainly have fought against you. If then they withdraw from you, and do not fight against you, but offer you peace, Allah hath not opened for you a way against them.

93. You will find others wishing that they may be secure from you and from their people,[1] who whenever they are brought back into temptation are overwhelmed in it; if they do not withdraw from you, and offer you peace, and restrain their hands, take them and kill

[1] The identity of these is doubtful; if it were possible to take 90–92 as referring to the Banī Nadīr, this might refer to the party of Abdullah b. Ubayy, but "the Hypocrites" is usually a designation of the latter.

88. When ye receive a salutation respond with a better, or return it; verily Allah of everything takes account.

89. Allah—there is no god but He—will certainly gather you to the day of resurrection; there is no doubt about it. Who is more truthful than Allah in what He says?

them wherever ye come upon them; against them We give you clear authority.

Killing of Moslems by Moslems forbidden.
Perhaps occasioned by abuses resulting from the preceding.

94. It is not for a believer to kill a believer, unless it be by mistake; if anyone kills a believer by mistake, (the penalty is) the setting free of a believing slave, and blood-money to be delivered to his [1] family, unless they give it as alms; if he belong to a people who are at enmity with you and is a believer, the setting free of a believing slave; if he belong to a people between whom and you there is a compact, blood-money to be delivered to his family and the setting free of a believing slave; he who does not find the means to do that, shall fast two consecutive months—a repentance from Allah; [2] verily Allah is knowing, wise.

95. If anyone kill a believer intentionally, his recompence is Gehenna, to abide therein; Allah will be angry with him and will curse him, and prepare for him a mighty punishment.

High-handedness of Moslem raiders rebuked.
About the same time as the preceding.

96. O ye who have believed, when ye knock about in the way of Allah, make (things) clear to yourselves; do not say to one who gives you the peace-greeting, "Thou art not a believer," in desire of the chance gain of this present life; with Allah are many spoils; ye were like that in former times, but Allah hath been good to you; so make (things) clear to yourselves; verily Allah of what ye do is well-aware.

Active fighting encouraged.
Probably early Medinan and revised.

97b. Allah hath given preference in rank to those who strive with

97a. Those of the believers who sit still—other than those who

[1] *I.e.* the person who has been killed.

[2] *I.e.* prescribed by Allah.

goods and person over those who sit still, though to all, Allah hath promised the good (reward), 98. ranks in relation to Himself, forgiveness and mercy; verily Allah hath become forgiving, compassionate.

have some injury [1]—are not on a level with those who strive with goods and person in the way of Allah, 97c. and Allah hath bestowed upon those who strive, in preference to those who sit still, a mighty hire.

Emigration to Moslem territory encouraged.

Verse 99 *possibly early Medinan;* 100 *f. considerably later than Uhud.*

99. Verily to those whom they carry off (in death) while they are living in wrong-doing, the angels will say: "In what circumstances were you?" "We were oppressed in the land," say they. "But was not the land of Allah wide?" will be the reply, "so that ye might have migrated in it?" Of such the abode is Gehenna; a bad place to go to!

100. Except the (really) oppressed, men, women, or children, who cannot compass a stratagem and are not guided to a way; them possibly Allah will pardon; Allah is ready to pardon, forgiving.

101. He who emigrates in the way of Allah will find in the land many a place to retire to and plenty; and if anyone goes forth from his house, emigrating to Allah and his messenger, and death then overtake him, his hire has fallen upon Allah (to pay); Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

The Prayer may be shortened on an expedition.

Year IV or V; but 103*a a later insertion.*

102. When ye knock about in the land, it is no fault in you that ye shorten the Prayer, if ye fear that those who have disbelieved may molest you; verily the unbelievers have become to you manifest enemies.

103. When thou art with them and have set up the Prayer for them, let a party of them pray with thee, and let them [2] take their weapons, and when they prostrate themselves let them be behind you; and then let another party who have not prayed come and pray with thee, and let them [3] take their guard and their weapons.

[1] This clause may, as Tradition says, be an afterthought.

[2] *I.e.* the main body, who are not engaged in prayer.

[3] *I.e.* probably those who have prayed.

Those who have disbelieved would like that ye should neglect your weapons and your baggage, then they would swoop down upon you at one swoop. If any injury from rain affect you or ye be sick, it is no fault in you that ye lay down your weapons, but keep guard; verily Allah hath prepared for the unbelievers a humiliating punishment.

104. When ye have concluded the Prayer, remember Allah, standing or sitting or lying on your sides;[1] afterwards, when ye feel secure again, observe the Prayer; verily the Prayer has become for the believers a thing prescribed for stated times;

105. But do not be weak in seeking the enemy; if ye are suffering they are suffering as much as ye suffer, and ye have hopes from Allah which they have not; Allah hath become knowing, wise.

Lenient attitude to Hypocrites (?) rebuked; after Uhud; private; published later on another occasion with addition of 109–112.

106. We have sent down the Book to thee with the truth in order that thou mayest judge between the people by means of what Allah hath shown thee; be not therefore a pleader on behalf of the treacherous; ask forgiveness of Allah, verily Allah hath become forgiving, compassionate.

107. Do not dispute in defence of those who betray themselves; verily Allah loveth not anyone who is a traitor, guilty.

108. They cloak themselves from the people, but they do not cloak themselves from Allah, for He is with them when they give house-room to unsatisfactory speeches; Allah of what they do hath become comprehending.

109. There ye are! ye have disputed in defence of them in this life, but who will dispute with Allah in their defence on the day of resurrection, or who will undertake their case?

110. He who does evil or wrongs himself and then asks forgiveness of Allah will find Allah forgiving, compassionate.

111. But he who piles up a guilty deed, to his own hurt he piles it up; Allah hath become knowing, wise.

112. He who piles up an error or a guilty deed, and then casts it on an innocent person, has laid upon himself slander and manifest guilt.[2]

[1] *I.e.* continually.

[2] This passage is referred by Tradition to a case of theft; *vide* Bd., N—S, p. 102, for the story. Only the last verse, however, is apposite to it.

Continuation of 106–108 *; omitted when preceding was published.*

113. Had it not been for the bounty and mercy of Allah towards thee, a party of them were on the point of leading thee astray, but they only lead themselves astray, they do not injure thee at all ; Allah hath sent down to thee the Book and the Wisdom, and hath taught thee what thou didst not use to know ; the bounty of Allah towards thee has become mighty.

114. There is no good in much confidential talk with them,[1] except those who urge almsgiving or reputable conduct or setting things right among the people ; to him who does that out of desire for the approval of Allah, We shall in the end give a mighty hire.

115. But him who splits off from the messenger after the Guidance has become clear to him, and follows any other way than that of the believers, We shall consign to what he has turned to, and roast in Gehenna—a bad place to go to !

Idolatry.

Early Medinan (?) ; v. 118 *later.*

116. Allah will not forgive the association of anything with Himself, though He forgives anything short of that to whom He willeth ; he who associates anything with Allah has strayed into error far.

117. Short of Him they only call upon female beings,[2] and they only call upon a Satan rebellious.

118. Allah cursed him and he said : " Surely of Thy servants will I take an appointed portion ; I will lead them astray, and fill them with desires ; I will give them command and they will cut the ears of camels,

Treatment of Women.

Some time later than v. 3.

126. They ask thee for a deliverance regarding women ; say : " Allah giveth you a deliverance regarding them, and what is recited to you in the Book[3] in regard to the female orphans to whom ye do not give what is prescribed for them, but whom ye wish to marry, and the oppressed children, and in regard to your procuring justice for the orphans —whatever good ye do, Allah hath become one who of it doth know.

127. If a woman fear refractoriness or aversion on the part of her husband, there will be no

[1] Or " in much of their confidential talk."

[2] Probably " angels."

[3] The construction is difficult ; that adopted takes the deliverance to refer to women *and* what is recited, viz. at the beginning of the surah. Other possible constructions are, to take " what " as co-ordinate with Allah, or as interrogative.

and I will give them command and they will alter the creation of Allah." He who takes Satan for his patron apart from Allah has suffered manifest loss.

119. Who makes promises to them and fills them with desires; but Satan promises them only delusion.

120. The abode of such is Gehenna, from which they will not find a place to flee to.

121. But those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness We shall cause to enter Gardens through which the rivers flow, to abide therein for ever—the promise of Allah in truth, and who is more truthful than Allah in what he says?

Self-justification useless.

Probably early Medinan; cf. 52 f.

122. It is not by your dogmas, or the dogmas [1] of the People of the Book. Whoever does evil will be requited for it, and will not find for himself, apart from Allah, either patron or helper.

123. But whoever does works of righteousness, be it male or female, and is a believer—they will enter the Garden and not be wronged a speck.

Religion of Abraham; year II.

124. Who is better as regards religion than he who surrenders himself to Allah, doing good meanwhile, and follows the creed of Abraham as a Ḥanīf? Allah took Abraham as a friend.

125. To Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth; of everything hath Allah become comprehending.

blame upon them, if they make an agreement between themselves; agreement is good and avarice is close to people; [2] if ye do well and act piously, verily Allah hath become one who of what ye do is well-aware.

128. Ye will not be capable of dealing evenly among the women [3] even though ye be eager (to do so), but do not follow inclination to the extreme, and leave her like the forsaken; if ye make an agreement and act piously, verily Allah hath become forgiving, compassionate.

129. If, however, the two of them separate, Allah will enrich each out of His abundance; verily Allah hath become wide (in bounty), wise."

[1] Things taken on trust, cf. ii. 73. The construction of this verse is difficult and the translation uncertain.

[2] Lit. "the souls have been brought into the presence of avarice."

[3] *I.e.* your wives.

130. To Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth.[1]

Consequences of belief and unbelief. Early Medinan; revised.

We have charged those who have been given the Book before you, and you too, that ye show piety towards Allah;

131. And to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth; it is sufficient that Allah undertakes one's case.

133. If anyone wishes the reward of this world, with Allah is the reward of this world as well as of the Hereafter; Allah hath become one who hears and clearly sees.[2]

if ye disbelieve, to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth; Allah hath become rich, praiseworthy.

132. If He pleaseth He will remove you, O ye people, and bring forward others; Allah hath become one who for that hath power.[2]

Moslems to be truthful. C. same time as 126–129.

134. O ye who have believed, be furnishers of justice, witnesses for Allah, even though it be against yourselves, or your parents and relatives, whether (the person) be rich or poor—Allah is the most concerned with both;[3] so do not follow desire so as to waver; if ye swerve (towards one) or turn from (another), verily, Allah of what ye do is well-aware.

Believers and Waverers.

C. year II; revised later as an attack on the Hypocrites; v. 135 *perhaps then omitted.*

135. O ye who have believed, believe in Allah and His messenger and the Book which He hath sent down to His messenger and the Book which He sent down before; whoever disbelieves in Allah and His angels and His Books and His messengers and the Last Day, has strayed into error far.

136. Those who have believed and then disbelieved, then believed and then disbelieved again

[1] This beginning of v. 130 seems out of place; it is either a stray scrap or belongs to the middle of v. 129.

[2] The relative date of these alternatives is not certain.

[3] The sense seems to be that in giving evidence they do not need to consider whether the person be rich or poor, that being a matter which Allah is responsible for.

Early Medinan scrap.

138. Those who take the unbelievers as friends rather than the believers—is it dignity they seek in their company? Dignity belongs to Allah altogether.
139a. And there has been sent down to you in the Book (the advice) that when ye hear the signs of Allah being disbelieved in and mocked at, ye should not sit with them[1] until they engage in some other talk; if ye do so, ye and they are alike;
140b. Allah will judge between you on the day of resurrection, and Allah will not open to the unbelievers against the believers a way.

Original end of 136.

142. Vacillating between (this and) that, are neither one thing nor the other; for those whom Allah sendeth astray, one will not find a way.

Early Medinan scraps.

143. O ye who have believed, do not take the unbelievers as friends rather than the believers; do ye wish to give Allah against you manifest authority?
146. What will Allah do with your punishment, if ye are grateful and believe, seeing that Allah is grateful and knoweth?

and have finally increased in unbelief, Allah is not likely to forgive or to guide in any way.
137. Announce to the Hypocrites that for them is a painful punishment,
140a. Those who wait (to see what will happen) to you, and if a conquest come to you from Allah, say: "Were we not with you?"; but if a share fall to the unbelievers, say: "Did we not try to persuade[2] you and keep you back from the believers?"
139b. verily, Allah is going to gather the Hypocrites and the unbelievers in Gehenna all together.

Self-deception of Hypocrites.

141. The Hypocrites are trying to outwit Allah, though He is outwitting them; when they stand up for the Prayer, they stand up lazily, making a show before the people, but they remember Allah but little.

144. Verily the Hypocrites are in the lowest reach of the Fire, and one will not find for them a helper.

[1] *I.e.* with those who mock, *vide* vi. 67.
[2] Lit. "to round up like cattle."

147. Allah doth not like the public utterance of evil speech, unless (it be by) one who has been wronged; Allah is one who hears and knows.

148. If ye do good openly or secretly, or overlook an evil, Allah (too) is ready to overlook, powerful.

145. Except those who have repented and set things right and sought defence in Allah, and made Allah the exclusive object of their religion—these are with the believers and Allah will in the end give the believers a mighty hire.

Rejection of a messenger the same as unbelief.

Refers to Jews. C. year II.

149. Those who disbelieve in Allah and His messengers and wish to make a distinction between Allah and His messengers, and say: "We believe in some but disbelieve in others," and wish to take between (this and) that a way—

150. These are the unbelievers in very truth, and We have prepared for the unbelievers a humiliating punishment.

151. But to those who have believed in Allah and His messengers and have made no distinctions between any of them We shall in the end give their hires; and Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Jewish unbelief continued.

Originally c. year II, but several times revised in increasingly hostile sense.

152. The People of the Book ask thee to bring down to them a Book from the heaven; well, they asked Moses a greater thing than that; they said: "Show us Allah openly"; but the thunderbolt took them for their wrong-doing. Then they chose the calf after the Evidences had come to them, but We overlooked that and gave Moses manifest authority.

153. Then We raised the mountain over them with their compact, and We said to them: "Enter the gate in prostration," and We said: "Do not transgress in the matter of the Sabbath," and We took from them a firm compact.

154. So for their violating their compact,
and for their unbelief in the signs of Allah, their killing the prophets without justification, and their saying: "Our hearts

are uncircumcised"—nay, Allah hath set a seal upon them for their unbelief, so they do not believe, except a few—

155. And for their unbelief, and their speaking against Mary a mighty slander;[1]

156. And for their saying: "We killed the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, the messenger of Allah,"

though they did not certainly kill him.

Nay, Allah raised him to Himself, 157. and there is no People of the Book but will surely believe in him before his death, and on the day of resurrection, he will be regarding them a witness.

though they did not kill him and did not crucify him, but he was counterfeited for them;[2] verily those who have gone different ways in regard to him are in doubt about him; they have no (revealed) knowledge of him and only follow opinion; Allah is sublime, wise.

Original continuation of 152 (?).

158. So for wrong-doing on the part of those who have judaised[3] We have made (certain) good things forbidden to them[4] which had (formerly) been allowable for them,

and for their turning many aside from the way of Allah;

159. And for their taking usury though they had been forbidden to do so, and for their consuming the wealth of the people in vanity, and We have prepared for the unbelievers of them a painful punishment.

160. But those of them who are firmly grounded in knowledge and the believers in Allah and the Last Day and the observers of the Prayer and the payers of the Zakāt—

and the believers, believe in what has been sent down to thee and in what has been sent down before thy time;

to them We shall in the end give a mighty hire.

Assurance of the Reality of the Prophet's Inspiration.
Early Medinan, revised at various times.

161. Verily We have made suggestions to thee as We made suggestions to Noah and the prophets after him;

[1] Probably refers to the Jewish assertion that Jesus was "illegitimate."

[2] Probably a reference to the Docetic assertion that only a simulacrum of Jesus was crucified.

[3] Cf. v. 48.

[4] Refers to Jewish food-restrictions.

and We made suggestions to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the Patriarchs, to Jesus, Job, Jonah, Aaron, and Solomon, and to David We gave the Psalms,[1]

162. and messengers whom We have already recounted to you and messengers whom We have not recounted; to Moses (indeed) Allah spoke directly;

163. Messengers bringing good tidings and warnings, so that the people should have no argument against Allah after (the coming of) the messengers; Allah is sublime, wise.

164. But Allah bears witness to what He hath sent down to thee
—He sent it down with knowledge of Himself, and the angels bear witness—
and Allah is sufficient witness.

165. Verily those who have disbelieved, and turned (others) aside from the way of Allah have strayed into error far.

Early Medinan scrap.

168. O ye people, the messenger has come to you with the truth from your Lord, so believe; (it will be) better for you. But if ye disbelieve—to Allah belongs whatever is in the heavens and the earth; Allah is knowing, wise.

Substitute for 165.

166. Verily those who have disbelieved and done wrong, Allah is not one to forgive or to guide in any road,

167. but the road to Gehenna, to abide therein for ever; for Allah that is easy.

Appeal to the People of the Book (Christians).
Possibly year II or III, added to later.

169. O People of the Book, do not go beyond bounds in your religion, and do not say about Allah anything but the truth. The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is only the messenger of Allah, and His Word which He cast upon Mary, and a spirit from Him; so believe in Allah and His messengers, and do not say: "Three." Refrain, (it will be) better for you; Allah is only One God; glory be to Him (far from) His having a son! To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth; it is sufficient that Allah undertakes one's case.[2]

[1] Or simply "a Scripture."

[2] Possibly a reference to the Christian belief in the intercession of Jesus Christ.

Continuation of 168 (*?*).

172. As for those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness, He will pay them their hires in full, and of His bounty will give them more, but as for those who have been disdainful and borne themselves proudly, He will punish them with a painful punishment.

170. The Messiah will not disdain to be a servant of Allah, nor will the angels who stand in His presence.[1]

171. Whosoever disdains His service and bears himself proudly, He will drive to Himself in a body.

173. And they will not find for themselves apart from Allah patron or helper.

Appeal for belief.

C. same time as 168, 172.

174. O ye people, there has come to you a proof from your Lord, and We have sent down to you manifest light.

As for those who have believed in Allah and sought defence in Him, He will in the end cause them to enter into mercy and bounty from Himself, and will guide them to Himself a straight path.

Inheritance.

Modification of v. 15.

175. They ask thee for a deliverance; say: "Allah giveth you a deliverance in regard to the person who leaves no direct heirs; if a man perishes and has no children but has a sister, the half of what he leaves belongs to her; and he is her heir if she have no children; if there be two (sisters), the two-thirds of what he leaves belongs to them; if there be brethren, male and female, a share equal to the portion of two females belongs to the male; Allah maketh clear to you lest ye err; Allah everything doth know."

[1] Lit. "who are brought near."

SURAH V

The kernel of this surah seems to belong to the time when Muhammad's estrangement from previous monotheists is still in process, but already fairly advanced. Vv. 14 (?), 15 f., 18, 21, 22, 23 ff., 30 ff., 39 f., 45 ff., 48 ff., 62 ff., 76 ff., 82 ff., 89 f., 92 f., 94, 109 ff. seem in their original form to belong to this period. But there have been many alterations and additions. At what time these were made, it is difficult to say. The section laying down penances for hunting on pilgrimage is evidently late, after the conquest of Mecca. We may perhaps assume that the rules for witnessing bequests, vv. 105–107, belong to about the same time. The revised passage dealing with Christians, vv. 116–120, one would from its position assume to belong to the same time, though the tone and language suggest that it may be earlier. Even more difficulty attaches to the passages which deal with the pilgrimage, and the question of hunting when in a state of sanctity. These are generally regarded as being late, but the pilgrimage was almost certainly dealt with shortly after the adoption of the religion of Abraham, and the complex composition of vv. 1 ff. seems to require that hunting on pilgrimage should have been forbidden at that time. Other verses dealing with the subject may belong to the time of Hudaibiya, or of the pilgrimage of the following year, while some may be later than the conquest of Mecca, *vide* above. In any case, the surah appears to belong mainly to three periods, the year II, (or early in year III), round about the time of Hudaibiya, and after the conquest of Mecca.

Sūrat al-Mā'ida—Chapter of the Table.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Originally two verses in the context of 91 *ff., cf. vv.* 91, 96.

1. O ye who have believed, fulfil contracts.
Allowable for you (to eat) is the beast of the flock, except what

is recited to you,[1] provided ye do not allow hunting while ye are in a state of sanctity ; [2] Allah decideth what He willeth.

Arab sanctities to be respected ; v. 2 perhaps fairly early, v. 3 added later—time of Hudaibiya or pilgrimage of following year (?).

2. O ye who have believed, do not profane the symbols of Allah, or the sacred month, or the offering, or the ornaments, or those repairing to the Sacred House in desire of bounty and goodwill from their Lord.

[3a. But when ye are free (from your state of sanctity) hunt for yourselves.[3]]

Connect with 2 ; date (?).

3b. And let not the hatred of a people in that they have debarred you from the Sacred Mosque, incite you to provoke hostility ; assist each other to virtuous conduct and piety, and do not assist each other to guilt and enmity ; act piously towards Allah, verily Allah is severe in punishment.

Early Medinan (?) scraps.

4b. To-day those who have disbelieved despair of your religion ; fear them not but fear ye Me.

Late ; connect with 1b.

4a. Forbidden to you are the dead (carcase), blood, the flesh of swine, that over which any other (name) than Allah has been invoked, that which has been strangled, or felled, or has tumbled, or been gored, or which wild beasts have mangled —unless ye have slaughtered it [4]—and that which has been sacrificed on the stone (altar), and that ye seek a division by means of the divining arrows [5]—that is iniquity.

[1] What is forbidden in passages of the Qur'ān already recited.

[2] Wearing the iḥrām on pilgrimage.

[3] This clause is misplaced ; the whole composition of this passage is complicated. Verse 1 was early scrapped and v. 2 written on the back ; 3b was added to 2 at some time ; 4, which connects with 1, was written on the back of 3b, and other scraps ; 3a may have been intended as an addition in 1, or to connect 1 with 4, or 3b may have been used at some time as a continuation of 1, with this as connecting phrase.

[4] *I.e.* came upon it before it was dead, and bled it.

[5] *I.e.* divide the flesh by drawing lots by means of arrows as was done in paganism.

5a. To-day I have perfected your religion for you, and have completed My goodness towards you, and have approved Islam as your religion.

5b. But if anyone is under stress in a time of famine, without being perversely inclined to sin—Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Early Medinan, while Muhammad is still friendly with the Jews.

7. To-day the good things are made allowable for you; the food of those who have been given the Book is allowable for you, and your food is allowable for them; also the women who are under ward [1] of the believers, and the women who are under ward of those who have been given the Book before you, when ye have given them their hires, taking them in ward, neither committing fornication, nor choosing paramours.

If anyone disbelieve in the ? faith his work has gone for nothing and in the Hereafter he will be among the losers.

Answer to a question raised by one of the prohibitions in 4.

6. They ask thee what is made allowable for them; say: "The good things are made allowable for you, and if ye teach any beasts of prey, training them as dogs and teaching them part of what Allah hath taught you, then eat of what they catch on your account; make mention of the name of Allah over it, and act piously towards Allah; verily Allah is quick to reckon.

Part of an appeal to the Jews; original end of v. 18 (?).

10. And remember the goodness of Allah towards you and the covenant which He laid upon you, when ye said: "We hear and obey"; show piety towards Allah, verily Allah knoweth what is in the breasts.

Ritual Washing. Mid-Medinan.

8. O ye who have believed, when ye stand up for the Prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet up to the ankles; 9. and if ye be polluted, purify yourselves. If ye be sick or on a journey, or if one

[1] *I.e.* well-brought-up and guarded women; with this cf. iv. 27 ff.

Moslems to be truthful witnesses.

11. O ye who have believed, be furnishers of justice as witnesses for Allah, and let not the hatred of a people [1] incite you not to act fairly; act fairly that is nearer to piety; show piety towards Allah, verily Allah is aware of what ye do.

Reward and Punishment.

12. Allah hath promised those who have believed and done the works of righteousness (that) for them is forgiveness and a mighty hire.

13. But those who have disbelieved and counted Our signs false—they are the people of the Hot Place.

of you come from the privy, or if ye have touched women, and do not find water, sand yourselves with dry good (sand), and rub your faces and your hands with it; Allah doth not wish to place upon you any difficulty, but He wishes to purify and to complete His goodness towards you; mayhap ye will show thankfulness.[2]

A threatening danger averted; date uncertain.

14. O ye who have believed, remember the goodness of Allah towards you, when a people meditated stretching out their hands against you and He restrained their hands from you; show piety towards Allah, and upon Allah let the believers put their trust.

Covenant of Sinai.

Probably belongs to year II, but 17 a much later addition.

15. Allah made a covenant with the Children of Israel, and We [3] raised up from amongst them twelve leaders,[4] and Allah said: "Verily I am with you; assuredly, if ye observe the Prayer and pay the Zakāt, and believe in My messengers and support them, and lend to Allah a good loan, I shall absolve you from your evil deeds and cause you to enter Gardens through which the rivers flow; so

[1] Probably the Jews of Medina. With this verse cf. iv. 134.

[2] This verse is perhaps later than iv. 46, though the second part of that may have been taken from here.

[3] Here perhaps angels.

[4] The twelve spies, Num. xiii., or by confusion with the number of the tribes, the elders chosen to lighten the burden of Moses, Ex. xviii.; Num. xi.

whoever of you disbelieves after that has strayed from the direct way."

16. So for their having broken their covenant, We have cursed them and have made their hearts hard ; they change the words from their places [1] and have forgotten part of the reminder given them ; thou wilt continually observe treachery on their part, except a few of them, but pardon and overlook them ; verily Allah loveth those who do well.

17. With those also who say : " We are Naṣārā," [2] We made a covenant, but they have forgotten part of the reminder given them ; so We have stirred up enmity and hatred amongst them until the day of resurrection, and in the end Allah will announce to them what they have been doing.

18. O People of the Book,

there has come to you from Allah a light and a Book which makes clear, whereby Allah guideth those who ensue His goodwill in the ways of peace, bringing them forth out of the darknesses into the light by His permission, and guiding them to a straight path.

Our messenger has come to you making clear to you much of what ye have been concealing of the Book, and dispensing with much ; [3]

Verse 10 *perhaps originally here.*

Presumption of Jews and Christians. During the controversy with them.

21. The Jews and the Christians say : " We are the sons and beloved of Allah " ; say : " Why then does He punish you for your sins ? Nay, ye are human beings (part) of those whom He hath created ; He forgiveth whom He pleaseth and punisheth whom He pleaseth, to Allah belongs the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth and what is between them, and to Him is the trend."

Christian unbelief. C. same time as v. 17.

19. Assuredly they have disbelieved who say that Allah is the Messiah, son of Mary ; say : " Who then will control Allah in the least if He wisheth to destroy the Messiah,

[1] Cf. iv. 48.

[2] Christians.

[3] The relative date of these alternatives is doubtful. The " Book " in the first part of the verse here placed on the right as later must mean the Scriptures already revealed ; in the second, it might mean the " Book " revealed to Muhammad, in which case that would be the later.

Early Medinan.

22. O People of the Book, Our messenger has come to you to make things clear for you at an interval amongst the messengers,[1] lest ye should say: "Neither bringer of good tidings nor warner has come to us"; so now there has come to you both a bringer of good tidings and a warner; Allah over everything hath power.

son of Mary, and his mother, and those who are on the earth altogether, 20. seeing that to Allah belongs the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth, and what is between them? He createth what He willeth; Allah over everything hath power."

Refusal of the Israelites to enter the Promised Land.

Year II; intended to counteract Jewish opposition to warlike policy (?).

23. (Recall) when Moses said to his people: "O my people, remember the goodness of Allah towards you when He appointed prophets amongst you, and appointed you (to be) kings, and bestowed upon you what He had not bestowed upon anyone of (all) the worlds.
24. O my people, enter the Holy Land which Allah hath written down as yours, and turn not back to your rearward so as to be rendered losers."
25. They replied: "O Moses, in it is a people, men of might; we shall not enter it until they go out from it, but if they go out from it, we shall enter in."
26. Said two men of those who feared (Allah) to whom Allah had been good: "Enter the gate against them; when ye enter, ye will be conquerors; place your trust upon Allah, if ye are believers."
27. Said they: "O Moses, we shall never enter it so long as they remain in it; go thou and thy Lord, and fight; here do we sit still."[2]
28. Said he: "O my Lord, I control no one but myself and my brother, make a separation between us and the reprobate people."

[1] *I.e.* at a time when there are no others.

[2] This sentence was quoted by one of Muhammad's followers before the battle of Badr, cf. *I.H.*, p. 434; if we can accept the story, it must have been recently delivered.

29. Said He: "Well then, it[1] is forbidden to them for forty years while they wander about in the earth; so do not worry about the reprobate people."

Story of Cain and Abel.

Perhaps early Medinan, establishing the law of retaliation; revised later by substitution of 37, 38 *for* 35, 36.

30. Recite to them the story of the two sons of Adam in truth; when they offered an offering, and it was accepted from one of them, but was not accepted from the other; he said: "I will surely kill thee"; he replied: "Allah accepteth from those who act piously.
31. If thou stretch forth thy hand to kill me, I am not going to stretch forth my hand to kill thee; verily I fear Allah, Lord of the worlds.
32. Verily I wish thee to become liable for my sin and for thine own,[2] so that thou mayest be amongst the inmates of the Fire; that is the recompence of those who do wrong."
33. So his (natural) self[3] made the killing of his brother agreeable to him, and he killed him, so he became one of the losers.
34. Then Allah sent a raven which scratched a hole in the earth in order to show him how he might hide the vile (body)[4] of his brother;[5] he said: "O alas, am I incapable of being like this raven so that I might hide the vile (body) of my brother?" so he became one of the remorseful.
35. Because of that We have prescribed (as a law) for the Children of Israel that whoever kills a person otherwise than (in retaliation) for another person, or for causing corruption in the land, shall be as if he had killed the people in a body, and he who brings life to
37. The recompence of those who make war on Allah and His messenger and exert themselves to cause corruption in the land is that they should be killed or crucified, or that their hands and feet on opposite sides should be cut off, or that they should be banished from the land; that

[1] The land.

[2] Meaning uncertain; perhaps that the guilt of killing me may be added to your previous guilt for which the offering was rejected.

[3] Cf. xii. 53. [4] Or "the vile deed done to his brother."

[5] A raven shows the mode of burial to Adam; Targ. Jer. on Gen. iv. 8; Pirke R. Elieser, c. 21, Midrash fol. xi. (Rodwell).

one shall be as if he had brought life to the people as a body;[1] 36. Our messengers have already come to them with the Evidences, but even after that many of them are acting extravagantly in the land.

Exhortation to Believers.
Early Medinan, revised.

39. O ye who have believed, act piously towards Allah, and seek access to Him, and strive in His cause, mayhap ye will prosper. 40. Verily those who have disbelieved if they had all that is in the earth together, and as much again, with which to ransom themselves from the punishment of the day of resurrection, it would not be accepted from them; for them is a painful punishment. 41. wish to get out of the Fire but they are not going to get out of it; for them is an abiding punishment. is humiliation for them in this world, and in the Hereafter is for them a mighty punishment. 38. Except those who have repented before ye get them in your power; know ye that Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Punishment of the Thief.
Mid-Medinan.

42. As for the thief, male and female, cut off their hands as a recompence for what they have piled up—a chastisement from Allah; Allah is sublime, wise. 43. But if anyone repent after his wrong-doing and set things right, Allah will repent towards him; Allah is forgiving, compassionate. 44. Dost thou not know[2] that to Allah belongs the sovereignty of the heavens and the earth? He punisheth whom He willeth, and pardoneth whom He willeth; Allah over everything hath power.

Muhammad not to worry about Unbelief (of the Jews (?)).
Fairly early Medinan; revised later.

45. O thou messenger, let not those who vie with each other in unbelief grieve thee, of those who say with their mouths: "We believe," but whose hearts have not believed, for of those who have judaised are listeners to falsehood, listeners to another people who have not come to thee,[3] who invert[4] the words after (they have been set 46. listeners to falsehood, consumers of what is prohibited. So if they come to thee, act as judge between them or turn

[1] With this verse cf. Mishna, Sanhedrin iv. 5 (Rodwell).
[2] Or indefinite=don't you know.
[3] Possibly the Jewish Rabbis.
[4] Cf. iv. 48.

in) their places, and say: "If this is given you, accept it, but if it is not given you, then beware." If Allah desires to try anyone, thou wilt have no influence upon Allah in his favour; these are they whose hearts Allah doth not desire to purify; for them is in this world humiliation, and in the Hereafter a punishment mighty.

away from them; if thou turn away from them they will not injure thee at all, but if thou act as judge, then judge between them with fairness; Allah loveth those who act with fairness.

47. But how shall they make thee their judge, seeing that in their hands is the Torah containing the judgment of Allah, and they then after all turn away?[1] These are not believers.

Three independent religions.

Continuation of 46, 47 (*?*) *c. time of change of Qibla* (*?*).

(a) *The Jews.*

48. Verily We have sent down the Torah containing guidance and light; by it the prophets who surrendered themselves[2] (to Allah) gave judgment for those who have judaised, as likewise the rabbis and scholars by such portion of the Book of Allah as they were entrusted with and were witnesses for: "So fear ye not the people, but fear ye Me, and sell not My signs for a small price." Whoever does not judge by what Allah hath sent down—they are the unbelievers.

49. Therein have We prescribed (as a law) for them: "A life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and wounds are (an occasion for) retaliation"; so if anyone remit it as a gift, it is an expiation for him, but whoever does not judge by what Allah hath sent down—they are the wrong-doers.

(b) *The Christians.*

50. In their footsteps We caused Jesus, son of Mary, to follow, confirming the Torah which was before him, and We gave him the Evangel, containing guidance and light, confirming the Torah which was before it, and as guidance and admonition to those who show piety.

[1] *I.e.* how can they be expected to accept your judgment, seeing they do not follow their own scriptures?

[2] Or were "Moslems."

51. Let the people of the Evangel judge by what Allah hath sent down therein ; if any do not judge by what Allah hath sent down, they are the reprobate.

(c) *Muhammad and his followers.*

52. To thee also have We sent down the Book with the truth, confirming the Book,[1] which was before it, and as a protector [2] over it ; so judge between them by what Allah hath sent down, and do not follow their lusts away from the truth which has come to thee ; to each of you have We appointed an access [3] (to truth) and an open road ;

53. Had Allah so willed, He would have made you one community, but (He hath not done so) in order that He might try you in regard to what has come to you ; so strive to be foremost in what is good ; it is to Allah that ye return, all of you, and He will announce to you that in which ye have been differing.[4]

54. And (with the charge) : " judge between them by what Allah hath sent down " ; do not follow their lusts, and beware of their tempting thee away from any part of what Allah hath sent down to thee ; then if they turn away, know that Allah intends to bring upon them some of their sins. Many of the people too are reprobate.

55. Do they then desire the (mode of) judgment of the Time of Ignorance ? But who is better than Allah in judgment, to a people who are convinced ?

Close relations between Jews and Christians to be broken off.

Probably between Badr and Uhud.

56. O ye who have believed, do not choose Jews and Christians as friends ; [5] they are friends to each other ; whoever makes friends of them is one of them ; verily Allah doth not guide the wrongdoing people.

57. Yet one sees those in whose hearts is disease, running amongst them saying : " We fear a turn of fortune [6] may befall us " ; but

[1] The heavenly Book as revealed.

[2] Meaning not quite certain ; possibly " producing belief in."

[3] Cf. xlv. 17.

[4] *I.e.* the three religions are to continue, each to be judged by its own revelation, and at the Judgment God will make clear to them which of them has followed the truth in the things in which they have differed.

[5] Or " patrons."

[6] In return for the victory of Badr.

possibly Allah will bring the Issue [1] or some affair from Himself,[2] and they will find themselves on account of what they have concealed within themselves, remorseful ;

58. While those who have believed will say : " Are these they who swore by Allah as solemnly as they could, that they were with you ? " Their works have gone for nothing and they have become losers.

Warning against Apostasy.

Probably about the same time.

59. O ye who have believed, if any of you draw back from their religion, Allah will produce (another) people whom He loveth and who love Him, humble towards the believers, haughty towards the unbelievers, striving in the cause of Allah, and not fearing the blame of anyone ; that is Allah's bounty which He bestoweth upon whomsoever He pleaseth ; Allah is unrestricted,[3] knowing.

60. Your friend is simply Allah and His messenger and those who have believed, who observe the Prayer and pay the Zakāt and who bow (in worship).

61. Whosoever makes friends of Allah and His messenger and those who have believed—the party of Allah are the conquerors.

Believers to withdraw from those who ridicule their religion.

Probably early Medinan, but twice revised and made to refer to the People of the Book (Jews ?) particularly.

62. O ye who have believed, take not as your friends those who take your religion as a butt of ridicule and fun, from amongst those who have been given the Book before you and the unbelievers, show piety towards Allah, if ye are believers.

63. Seeing that when ye make proclamation for the Prayer, they take it as a butt of ridicule and fun ; that is because they are a people who have no sense.

64. Say : " O People of the Book, do ye reproach us for anything but because we have believed in Allah, and in what has been sent down to us, and what

66. And when they come to you, they say : " We have believed," though they have entered in unbelief, and in it have departed ; Allah knoweth very

[1] Lit. " the opening," perhaps something like " the final deliverance of the Believers."

[2] Some direct intervention.

[3] Lit. " wide."

well what they have been concealing.
67. Many of them does one see vying in guilt and enmity, and in their consuming of what is prohibited ; [1] surely evil is what they have been working.
68. Why do the rabbis and scholars not restrain them from their speaking of guilt and their consuming of what is prohibited ? Surely, evil is what they have been doing !

Scraps of various dates.

71. O thou messenger, proclaim what is sent down to thee from thy Lord—if thou do it not thou hast not delivered His message —and Allah will defend thee from the people ; verily Allah guideth not the unbelieving folk.

72. Say : " O People of the Book, ye have nothing to stand upon until ye establish the Torah and the Evangel and what has been sent down to you from your Lord " ; but what has been sent down to thee from thy Lord will surely increase many of them in arrogance and unbelief ; so do not worry about the unbelieving folk.

73. Those who have believed, those who have judaised, the has been sent down in former times, and because the most of you are reprobate ? "
65. Say : " Shall I tell you of something worse than that in the recompence (that awaits) with Allah ? Those whom Allah hath cursed, against whom He is angry, some of whom He hath made apes and swine and servants of Ṭāghūt—they are in the worse position and further astray from the direct way."

Retort to a Jewish gibe, probably occasioned by demands for contributions.

69. The Jews say : " Surely the hand of Allah is fettered ! " ; may their hands be fettered, and may they be cursed for what they say ! Nay, both His hands are wide open, He giveth liberally as He pleaseth. Surely, what is sent down to thee from thy Lord increaseth many of them in arrogance and unbelief ; but We have cast enmity and hatred amongst them until the day of resurrection, every time they light a fire for war, Allah will put it out ; they strive after corruption in the land, and Allah loveth not those who cause corruption.
70. But if the People of the Book had believed and shown piety, We should have absolved them from their evil deeds and should assuredly have caused

[1] Probably usury.

Ṣābi'īn[1] and the Naṣārā, whosoever has believed in Allah and the Last Day and acted uprightly —fear rests not upon them nor do they grieve.

74. We made a covenant with the Children of Israel, and We sent messengers to them; whenever a messenger came to them with what they themselves did not like, a part of them they counted false and a part of them they were killing.

them to enter Gardens of Delight;
and if they had established the Torah and the Evangel, and what has been sent down to them from their Lord, they would have eaten from above and from beneath their feet;[2] among them is a community which aims at doing right[3] but most of them—evil is what they work.

75. They reckoned that trial would not come, so they were blind and deaf; then Allah relented towards them, and many of them were blind and deaf again; but Allah is observant of what they do.

Unbelief of the Christians.

Probably fairly early Medinan, but at least twice revised.

76. Assuredly they have disbelieved who say: "Allah is the Messiah, son of Mary";

79. The Messiah, son of Mary, is nothing but a messenger before whose time the messengers have passed away,[4] and his mother was a faithful woman;[5] both of them ate food.[6] See how We make clear to them

though the Messiah said: "O children of Israel, serve Allah my Lord and your Lord"; verily if anyone associates anything with Allah, Allah hath made the Garden inaccessible to him, and his resort is the Fire; nor

77. Assuredly, they have disbelieved who say: "Allah is one of three." There is no god but one God. If they do not desist from what they say, there will surely affect those of them who have disbelieved, a painful punishment.

78. Will they not

[1] Grammatically out of order, and perhaps a later insertion here.

[2] *I.e.* they might have continued to live comfortably where they were.

[3] Or "which is moderate." This is usually taken to mean a few who had become Moslems, but *umma*, "community," is hardly appropriate as applied to stray individuals. It is not clear whether Christians or one of the Jewish tribes in Medina are intended.

[4] As he also passed away like them.

[5] A contradiction of Jewish slander (?); cf. iv. 155.

[6] A proof of their being human.

the signs, then see how they are involved in lies.

for the wrongdoers are there any helpers.

then repent towards Allah and ask pardon of Him? Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

80. Say: "Do ye serve apart from Allah what avails you neither for hurt nor for profit? Allah is the one who hears and knows."

81. Say: "O People of the Book, do not go beyond bounds in your religion (speaking) what is not true, and do not follow the lusts of a people who have erred aforetime [1] and led many astray, and have erred from the direct way."

Jews accursed.

Verse 82 *perhaps from year II ;* 83, 84 *added later.*

82. Those of the Children of Israel who have disbelieved were cursed by the tongue of David and Jesus, son of Mary; [2] that was because they rebelled and became transgressors; they did not restrain each other from disreputable conduct which they practised; bad is what they have been doing!

83. Thou seest [3] many of them making friends of those who have disbelieved; bad surely is what they have sent forward for themselves, that Allah should be incensed against them, and in the punishment are they going to abide!

84. If they had believed in Allah and the prophet and what has been sent down to him, they would not have taken them for friends, but many of them are reprobate.

Christians more favourable to the Moslems than the Jews.

Perhaps from year II, revised by addition of 88*b* (?).

85. Assuredly thou wilt find that the most violent of the people in enmity against those who have believed are the Jews and those who practise idolatry,[4] and thou wilt find those of them who are nearest in love to those who have believed to be those who say:

[1] Probably refers to former generations of Jews and Christians.

[2] A vague recollection of the cursing Psalms, and Jesus' condemnation of the Pharisees.

[3] Or "One sees." The verse probably refers to the intrigues of the Jews with the Meccans.

[4] Lit. "those who have associated (other gods with Allah)."

"We are Naṣārā"; that is because there are amongst them priests and monks, and because they count not themselves great.

86. When they hear what has been sent down to the messenger, one sees their eyes overflowing with tears because of the truth which they recognise; they say: "O our Lord, we believe, so write us down among those who bear witness.

87. Why should we not believe in Allah and the truth which has come to us, and crave that our Lord should cause us to enter with the upright folk?"

88. So for what they have said, Allah hath rewarded them with Gardens through which the rivers flow, therein to abide; that is the recompence of those who do well.

But as for those who have disbelieved and counted Our signs false, they are the inmates of the Hot Place.

Artificial food-restrictions not to be adopted.

Early Medinan.

89. O ye who have believed, do not make forbidden the good things of what Allah hath made allowable for you; transgress not, verily Allah loveth not the transgressors.

90. But eat of what Allah hath provided for you, as allowable and good, and show piety towards Allah in whom ye are believers.

(*Verse.* 1*b at one time added here?*)

Penance for the breaking of oaths.

Mid-Medinan.

(*Verse* 1*a at one time here?*)

91. Allah will not take you to task for vain words in your oaths, but He will take you to task for contracts ye have made by oath; the expiation of it[1] (is) the feeding of ten poor persons with the average (food) with which ye feed your households, or the clothing of them, or the setting free of a bond-slave; but if anyone find not (such things available to him), let him fast three days; that is the expiation of your oaths when ye have sworn, but be careful of your oaths. Thus doth Allah make His signs clear to you, mayhap ye will show thankfulness.

[1] The broken oath.

Wine, Gambling, etc.

Probably fairly early ; revised, year IV.

92. O ye who have believed,

93. Satan simply wishes to cause enmity and hatred to fall out amongst you in the matter of wine and maisir,[1] and to turn you away from the remembrance of Allah and from the Prayer, so are ye going to refrain ? Obey Allah and obey the messenger and beware ; but if ye turn away, know that Our messenger is only responsible for the clear proclamation.

wine, maisir,[1] stone altars,[2] and divining arrows are simply an abomination, some of Satan's work ; so avoid it, mayhap ye will prosper.

Food offences venial.

Fairly early Medinan.

94. Upon those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness there rests no blame for what they may have eaten whensoever they show piety and believe and work the works of righteousness, then again show piety and believe, then again show piety and do well ; Allah, loveth those who do well.

Hunting on Pilgrimage (?).

Time of Hudaibiya (?).

95. O ye who have believed, Allah will indeed test you by some of the game which your hands and lances reach, that Allah may know whoso feareth Him in secret ; so for anyone who transgresses after that is (in store) a painful punishment.

Use of Fish.

Original continuation of 1b (?).

97. The game of the sea and the eating [3] of it is allowable for you as a provision for yourselves and the caravan, but the game of the land is forbidden you as long as

Hunting on Pilgrimage.

Late.

96. O ye who have believed, do not kill game when ye are in a state of sanctity ; if any of you kill it intentionally, (let there be) compensation, equal to what

[1] Some kind of gambling game.

[2] Or " images," but cf. v. 4.

[3] Lit. " food " and variously interpreted ; the verse seems to permit the use of fish and the carrying of it as part of the food supply of a caravan (even on pilgrimage ?).

ye remain in a state of sanctity; show piety towards Allah to whom ye will be gathered.

98a. Allah hath appointed the Ka'ba, the Sacred House, as a standing (institution) for the people, likewise the sacred month, and the offering and the ornaments.[1]

98b. That is in order that ye may know that Allah knoweth what is in the heavens and the earth, and that Allah everything doth know.

99. The messenger is only responsible for the proclamation, but Allah knoweth what ye reveal and what ye conceal.

Numbers no Criterion.
Early Medinan?

100. Say: "The vile is not on the same footing as the good, though the multitude of the vile may make one wonder; so show piety towards Allah, O ye of insight, mayhap ye will prosper."

Questions discouraged.
Early Medinan; revised.

101. O ye who have believed, do not ask about things

he has killed, from (his) flocks, as two persons of justice among you shall decide—an offering to be delivered at the Ka'ba;[2] or (let there be) an expiation, the feeding of poor people, or its equivalent in fasting, that he may taste the bad effects of his affair; Allah hath overlooked what is past, but if anyone repeats the offence Allah will take vengeance on him; Allah is sublime, wielder of vengeance;

98c. Know ye that Allah is severe in punishment and that Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Evidence of Bequests.
Late.

105. O ye who have believed, when death draws nigh to one of you, the testimony amongst you at the making of a bequest shall be (that of) two persons of justice from amongst yourselves, or if ye are knocking about in the land and the misfortune of death falls upon you, two others from amongst strangers;[3] ye shall detain them after the Prayer, and they shall swear by

[1] Garlands placed upon the necks of sacrificial animals.

[2] The way to the Ka'ba must have been open to Moslems when this was laid down.

[3] Lit. "from other than you"; Moslem legalists hold that non-Moslems cannot be referred to, as their testimony is not acceptable.

which if they are declared to you will annoy you, and which if ye ask about them when the Qur'ān is being sent down will be declared to you; Allah hath overlooked them, Allah is forgiving, gracious.

about which a people before your time asked, and were then found disbelieving in them.

Pagan practices condemned. Connect with 98*a* (*?*).

102. Allah hath not appointed any baḥīra or sā'iba or waṣīla or ḥāmi;[1] those who have disbelieved devise falsehood against Allah, the most of them not having intelligence.

103. When one says to them: "Come to what Allah hath sent down and to the messenger," they say: "Good enough for us is what we found our fathers practising." What! even though their fathers were without knowledge, and were not guided?

Believers not to worry about others. Early Medinan (*?*).

104. O ye who have believed, attend to yourselves; those who go astray will not injure you, if Allah, if ye are doubtful of them: "We will not sell it for a price, even though it were a relative,[2] and we will not conceal the testimony of Allah; surely in that case we shall be amongst those who incur guilt."

106. Then if it be by chance discovered that they (two) have deserved (the imputation of) guilt,[3] two others shall stand in their place, of those against whose interests the imputation was incurred, the two nearest relatives,[4] and shall swear by Allah: "Our testimony is truer than their testimony, and we have not transgressed; surely in that case we shall be amongst the wrong-doers."

107. That will make it more likely that people will produce the testimony according to its plain import,[5] since else they will be afraid that oaths may be rejected after they have sworn them; show piety towards Allah and hear; Allah guideth not the people who are reprobate.

[1] Different kinds of camels dedicated to the gods, cf. *E.I.* s.v. "baḥīra."

[2] Probably of the witness.

[3] *I.e.* have given false testimony.

[4] Or "against whose interests the two former incurred the imputation." Reading varies.

[5] Lit. "face."

ye let yourselves be guided; to Allah do ye all return, and He will announce to you what ye have been doing.

Messengers do not know the result of their work. Followed 71 (*?*).

108. On the day when Allah gathers the messengers and says to them: "What answer was given you?", they will reply: "We have no knowledge; verily it is Thou who art the knower of secret things."

Mission of Jesus.
Fairly early; founded on iii., 40*f.*

109. (Recall) when Allah said: "O Jesus, son of Mary, remember My goodness to thee and to her who brought thee forth, when I supported thee by the Holy Spirit in speaking to the people in the cradle and as grown man; 110. when I taught thee the Book and the Wisdom and the Torah and the Evangel; when thou wert creating figures like birds from clay by My permission, and then breathing upon them so that they became birds by My permission; when thou wert healing the blind and the leprous by My permission; when thou wert causing the dead to come forth by My permission; when I restrained the Children of Israel from thee, when thou didst come to them with the

Jesus repudiates Christian worship. Fairly late.

116. (Recall) when Allah said: "O Jesus, son of Mary, was it thou who didst say to the people: 'Take me and my mother as two gods apart from Allah'?" He replied: "Glory be to thee! it is not for me to say what to me is not true[1]; if I did say it, Thou knowest it; Thou knowest what is in my (inner) self, but I know not what is in Thy (inner) self; verily it is Thou who art the knower of secret things.

117. "I did not say anything to them but what thou didst command me: 'Serve Allah, my Lord and your Lord'; I was a witness over them as long as I remained amongst them, but when Thou didst take me to Thyself, it was Thou who wert the watcher over them, for Thou over everything art witness.

118. "If thou dost punish them —well, they are Thy servants; if Thou dost forgive them— well, Thou art the Sublime, the Wise."

119. Allah said: "This is the day on which the truthful

[1] Or "what I have no right to say."

Evidences and those of them who had disbelieved said: 'This is nothing but magic clear.'

111. When I suggested to the Apostles: 'Believe in Me and My messenger,' they said: 'We believe, bear witness that we are submissive.'" [1]

The Lord's Table.[2]

112. When the Apostles said: "O Jesus, son of Mary, is thy Lord able to send down to us a table from the heaven?" He replied: "Show piety towards Allah, if ye are believers."

113. They said: "Our desire is that we may eat from it and our hearts be at peace, that we may know that thou hast spoken truthfully to us and that to it we may be amongst the witnesses."

benefit by their truthfulness, for them are Gardens through which the rivers flow, in which to abide for ever, Allah satisfied with them and they satisfied with Him; that is the great success."

120. To Allah belongs the realm of the heavens and the earth and what is in them, and He over everything hath power.

114. Jesus, son of Mary, said: "O Allah our Lord, send down to us a table from the heaven, to be to us a festival, to the first and to the last of us,[3] and a sign from Thee, and do Thou provide for us, for Thou art the best of providers."

115. Allah said: "Verily I am going to send it down to you; so if any of you afterwards disbelieve, I shall assuredly punish them as I punish no one else of (all) the worlds."

[1] *I.e.* Moslems.

[2] This section, which is continuous with the preceding, is apparently based, not on any knowledge of the New Testament, but on some hearsay information about the Christian sacrament.

[3] *I.e.* "to all generations of us."

SURAH VI

This surah is very confused, and contains passages from several periods. This appears in the beginning of the surah, vv. 1–11, which appears to have been originally Meccan, to have been revised as the introduction to an early Medinan address, and then to have been turned against the Jews. A Meccan basis also appears in 12a, 13, and probably 17, 18, but alterations and additions have been made to the passage at different times in Medina. So also in v. 19, a probably early Medinan addition has been made to an originally Meccan verse. Vv. 20, 21 clearly refer to the Jews, and have possibly been inserted somewhat later than the revision of 19, perhaps on the back of 22, 23, 24, which are perhaps Meccan, though doubtfully so, particularly v. 24. Vv. 25–28 may belong to about the same time as 20, 21, and so also 33, 34, 39. These passages have been written on the back of more or less detached verses, some of which (29, 30, 35, 36) are Meccan, the others doubtful in date. From v. 40 to v. 73 we have again revisions of, and additions to, Meccan verses, probably as part of the early Medinan address. Whether the original of the passage dealing with Abraham is Meccan is a little doubtful, but the rather confused list of messengers, vv. 84–87, by which it seems to have been followed, must be fairly early. It has been replaced by the account of the argument by which Abraham became a monotheist, 75–79, 83, and rhyme-phrases have been introduced into the list of messengers, about the time of the adoption of the religion of Abraham. That more than one revision of the passage took place would seem to be implied in the occurrence of three alternative endings, vv. 88, 89, and 90. Verse 91 seems to be early Medinan, though it might possibly be Meccan; it has been turned against the Jews by a later insertion. This may have been done at the same time as the revision of the preceding passage, and the insertion of the following one, which must date from after the complete break with the Jews and the resolution to produce an independent Book. In vv. 95–107 we have an originally unrhymed Meccan passage on the signs, 95 99a, 102–104; rhyme-phrases have been added and

99b inserted on the back of 100, 101, probably for the early Medinan address. Whether the substitution of 105–107 for 102–104 was made at the same time, it is impossible to say; it would more probably be done later. Verse 108a would be appropriate at a time when Muhammad had not himself begun to attack the false gods, but the second half of the verse is Medinan. Vv. 109–111 are in phraseology suspiciously Medinan and will therefore probably belong to a fairly advanced stage of the controversy with the Jews. Verse 112a has been made the beginning of an insertion dealing with foods, which is evidently later than the definition of forbidden foods in 146–148. The date of the original passage, 112a, 113, 122 (?), is perhaps fixed by the use of the word *nabīy* as early Medinan, but it is difficult to say who is the "enemy" here referred to. The intervening passage, 115 ff. is probably also early Medinan prior to the food-controversy becoming acute. Vv. 123, 124, the beginning of which is modelled on 112a (or *vice versa*), may have been intended to follow 111 before the preceding insertion was made, and 125 added at the time that was done; vv. 126, 127, on the back of which 125 was written, would be in place after 120. Vv. 132, 133, which are Medinan in language, were probably meant as an addition to follow 126, 127, written on the back of an already revised Meccan scrap. The intervening passage 128–131 is again probably Meccan, revised by the insertion of verse-endings. So also 137–141 and 142–145, the latter of which has been an unrhymed passage on signs (cf. 99 ff.) drastically added to, at the time when the question of forbidden foods was being agitated. This question is settled by the passage 146–148. Vv. 149–151 are probably unconnected, though 150 and 151 might possibly be alternatives to the end of 149; they may have been used for the writing of 146–148, and are in any case somewhat earlier than that passage. So also are probably 152, 153, though the omission of any reference to forbidden foods might be due to their having immediately followed 146–148. The rather forced connection of 154 is probably due to its being a later addition (suggested by 126 ?), and the unconnected verse 155 may have stood on the back of the scrap on which it was written. This, then, suggested the passage dealing with the Book, 156–159, in which 156b rather breaks the connection between 156a and 157. Whether this was later than, and written on the back of, 160–165 is quite uncertain, as also whether 164 f. were originally continuous with 163, or were a discarded ending to the passage for which 162, 163 were sub-

stituted, or whether there were really three alternative endings, 164 f., 163, and 162. In any case, 162 will date from about the time of the adoption of the creed of Abraham, and the change of *qibla*.

Sūrat al-An'ām—Chapter of the Cattle.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The Signs of Allah and the Unbelievers; probably originally Meccan, consisting of 1, 6, 11; *as introduction to an early Medinan address,* 2, 3 *were substituted for* 6, 11; *later* 4, 5 *substituted for* 2, 3; 7, 8 (*which has been altered by the insertion of* 9), 10 *either continuation of* 4, 5 *or an earlier substitute for* 6, 11.

1. The praise belongs to Allah, who created the heavens and the earth, and appointed the darknesses and the light; but after all those who have disbelieved in regard to their Lord do waver.
2. He it is who created you of clay and then fixed a term—and a term is stated in His keeping—yet after all ye are in doubt.
3. He is Allah in the heavens and the earth; He knoweth what ye keep secret and what ye make public, and He knoweth what ye pile up.
4. Not a sign of (all) the signs of their Lord comes to them but from it they have been turning away!
5. They have disbelieved in the truth when it came to them, so one day there will come to them news of that at which they have been mocking.

6. Have they not considered how many a generation before them We have destroyed whom We had established in the earth in a way in which We have not established you, upon whom We had sent the heaven[1] copiously and under whose feet We had caused the rivers to flow, but whom We destroyed for their
7. If We were to send down to thee a book (written) upon parchment and they were to touch it with their hands, those who have disbelieved would say: "This is nothing but magic manifest."
8. They say: "Why has not an angel been sent down to him?"

[1] *I.e.* the rain.

sins, and caused to spring up after them a generation (of) others ?

But if We were to send down an angel, the affair would be decided, and they would not be respited.

9. But if We had made him[1] an angel, We should have made him[2] a man, and confused for them what they are confusing.[3]

11. Say : " Travel about in the land and see of what nature was the end of those who counted (the message) false."

10. Messengers have been mocked at before thee, but what they scoffed at beset those who mocked.

The power of Allah ; 12*a*, 13 (*minus rhyme-phrase ?*) *Meccan*, 12*b* *Medinan* (*same time as* 2, 3 *?*), *but revised later.*

12. Say : " To whom belongs what is in the heavens and the earth ? " Say : " To Allah.

He hath prescribed mercy as (incumbent) upon Himself.

13. " And to Him belongs whatever exists[4] in the night and the day ; He is the one who hears and knows."

He will surely gather you to the day of resurrection of which there is no doubt, but they those who have lost themselves[5] do not believe."

Same time as 12*a*, 13 *?*

14a. Say ; " Shall I choose as patron any other than Allah, author of the heavens and the earth, who gives food and needs not to be fed ? "

Medinan ; same time as 12*b ?*

14b. Say : " Verily I have been commanded to be the first of those who resign themselves, and ' Be not one of the Polytheists.' "

C. same time as 14*a*.

17. If Allah touch thee with distress, there is no remover of

Same time as 14*b* (*?*).

15. Say : " Verily I fear, if I go against my Lord, the

[1] The messenger.
[2] The angel sent as messenger.
[3] *I.e.* they would be in the same confusion as before.
[4] Lit. " dwells " or " rests."
[5] This phrase is probably a gloss to " they."

it but He; and if He touch thee with good—He over everything hath power.
18. He is the Supreme above His servants; He is the Wise, the Well-informed.

punishment of a mighty day."

Same time as revision of 12*b* ?

16. Whoso is acquitted [1] on that day, upon him He has had mercy; that is the manifest success.

Authority for the message; Meccan, revised early in Medina and later added to, after break with the Jews.

19. Say: "Which is stronger in witness?"
Do ye testify that there are with Allah other gods? Say: "I do not so testify." Say: "He is only One God

Say: "Allah is witness between you and me; and this Qur'ān has been suggested [2] to me that I may warn you thereby and whomsoever it may reach,

and I am quit of what ye associate (with Him)."

Judgment scene; date uncertain.

22. On the day when We shall round them up in a body, and say to the associators: "Where are your associate-gods whom ye have been asserting?"
23. Their only temptation [3] will be to say: "By Allah our Lord, We have not been associators." [4]
24. See how they speak falsely about themselves, and strayed from them has what they have been inventing!

20. Those to Whom We have sent the Book recognise it as they recognise their own sons, but they those who have lost themselves [5] do not believe.
21. And who does greater wrong than he who devises falsehood against Allah, or counts His signs false? Verily the wrong-doers shall not prosper.

Unbelievers.

Meccan Pagans.

29. They say too: "There is only this present life of ours, and

Medinan Jews.

25. There are some of them who listen to thee over whose hearts

[1] Lit. "turned from."
[2] Revealed.
[3] The meaning of this verse is by no means certain owing to the variation of the meaning of the word *fitna*.
[4] *I.e.* Polytheists.
[5] This phrase is probably a gloss to "they."

we are not going to be raised up."
30. But if thou wert to see when they are set before their Lord—He says: "Is not this the truth?" They say: "Yes, by our Lord!" He says: "Taste then the punishment for the unbelief ye have been showing."

Connection doubtful.

31. Lost have they who count the meeting with Allah false, until the Hour comes upon them suddenly and they say: "Oh alas, for the neglect we have shown in regard to it," and on their backs they bear their burdens;[1] is it not an evil thing they bear?

Connection doubtful.

32. This present life is only play and sport;[2] the abode of the Hereafter is better for those who show piety; will ye not then be intelligent?

We have placed veils lest they understand it,[3] and in their ears heaviness, and if they see any sign they do not believe in it; so that when they come to dispute with thee, those who have disbelieved say: "This is nothing but old-world tales."
26. They keep (others) from it[4] and withdraw from it (themselves); but they only destroy themselves without knowing.
27. But if thou wert to see when they are set before the Fire—they say: "O would that we were sent back and did not count the signs of our Lord false and were of the believers!"
28. Nay, what formerly they have been hiding has appeared to them, and if they were sent back, they would return to what they have been forbidden to do; they are speaking falsely.

Encouragement to the prophet in despondency.

Meccan.

35. If their turning away is a great thing to thee, then if thou art able to seek a hole in the earth or a ladder to the heaven, so as to bring them a sign, . . . But if Allah had so willed He would have gathered them to the guidance; so be not thou one of the ignorant.
36. Only those who hear will

Medinan.

33. We know indeed (that) what they say grieves thee; but it is not thee whom they count false, the signs of Allah do the wrong-doers gainsay.
34. Messengers have been counted false before thee, but they patiently endured the falsehood laid to their charge and the insults done them, until Our

[1] Probably their sins.
[2] *I.e.* a thing of small account.
[3] The Qur'ān, cf. v. 19.
[4] The Qur'ān.

respond; but the dead will Allah raise up, then to Him will they be made to return.

Demand for a sign.

37. They say: "Why has not a sign been sent down to him from his Lord?" Say: "Allah is able to send down a sign," but the most of them have no knowledge.

Connection doubtful.

38. There is not a beast in the earth, or a bird that flies with its wings but is a community like you; We have not let slip anything in the book; then to their Lord are they rounded up.

help came to them; no one can change the words of Allah, and surely there has come to thee some information about those who were sent (as messengers).

39. But those who have counted Our signs false are deaf, dumb, and in the darknesses; whomsoever He willeth, Allah sendeth astray, and whomsoever He willeth He setteth on a straight path.

Allah alone called upon in distress.

Meccan, but revised later.

40. Say: "Dost see yourselves,[1] if the punishment of Allah come to you, or the Hour come to you—on any other than Allah will ye call, if ye speak the truth?

41. Nay, upon Him will ye call, and He will lift away what ye call upon Him for, if He willeth, and forget what ye associate with (Him)."

Result of neglecting a warning.

Possibly after a dearth in Mecca; but, if so, rhyme-phrases have been added in Medina.

42. We have sent to communities before thy time, and have affected them with distress and dearth, if mayhap they might humble themselves.

43. If only when Our attack came upon them, they had humbled themselves—. But their hearts became hard, and Satan made fair to them what they were doing.

[1] Verb is sing., and pronoun plural in the Arabic.

44. So, when they forgot the reminder given them, We opened upon them the doors of everything,[1] until, when they rejoiced in what was bestowed upon them, We seized them suddenly, and there they were dumbfounded.
45. So the people who had done wrong were completely cut off; the praise belongs to Allah, Lord of the worlds.

Allah alone God.

About the same time as original of vv. 40, 41 *; rhyme-phrase added.*

46. Say: "Think ye, if Allah take away your hearing and your sight and set a seal upon your hearts, who is a god other than Allah to give it back to you?" See how We turn the signs about, yet after all they are shunning (them).

Believers not included in the punishment.

Later variation on 40.

47. Say: "Dost see yourselves, if the punishment of Allah come to you suddenly or openly[2]—will there be destroyed any but the wrong-doing people?
48. We do not send those who are sent as messengers except as bringers of good tidings and warners; so whoever believes and acts uprightly is not subject to fear and does not grieve.
49. But those who have counted Our signs false the punishment will touch for their reprobate conduct."

Response to Meccan criticism of the character of his followers. Rhyme-phrases, and vv. 54, 55 *added in Medina.*

50. Say: "I do not say to you: 'The treasuries of Allah are with me,'[3] and I do not know the unseen,[4] nor do I say to you: 'I am an angel'; I only follow what has been suggested to me (by Allah)." Say: "Are the blind and the keen-sighted alike? Will ye not then take thought?"
51. And warn thereby those who fear their being rounded up to their Lord, apart from whom they have neither patron nor intercessor; mayhap they will show piety.
52. And do not drive away those who call upon their Lord in the morning and in the evening desiring His countenance; no part of

[1] *I.e.* restored them to prosperity
[2] *I.e.* after intimation.
[3] *I.e.* I am not able to enrich my followers.
[4] Here probably simply the future.

their reckoning falls upon thee, nor any of thine upon them, that thou shouldst drive them away, and be one of the wrong-doers.

53. Thus have We tried some of them by others [1] that they may say: "Are these the people amongst us upon whom Allah hath bestowed favours?" Is it not Allah who best knoweth the thankful?

54. When those who believe in Our signs come to thee, say: "Peace be upon you! Your Lord hath prescribed mercy (as incumbent) upon Himself; whosoever of you does evil in ignorance, then afterwards repents and does right—verily He is forgiving, compassionate."

55. Thus do We make the signs distinct, and (it is) that the way of the sinners may become manifest.

Meccan scraps; expansions and additions probably early Medinan.

56. Say: "I have been forbidden to serve those upon whom ye call apart from Allah." Say: "I do not follow your desires; in that case I had gone astray, and would not be one of the guided."

57. Say: "I stand upon an Evidence from my Lord, but ye have counted it [2] false; what ye seek to hasten [3] lies not with me, the jurisdiction rests with Allah alone; He recounts [4] the truth, and He is the best of distinguishers."

58. Say: "If what ye seek to hasten [3] lay with me, the matter would be decided between you and me, but Allah best knoweth the wrong-doers."

59. With Him are the openings [5] of the unseen,[6] no one knows them but He; He knoweth whatever is in land and sea, there falleth not a leaf but He knoweth of it, nor a grain in the darknesses of the earth, nor a thing either full of sap or withered but is in a clear book.

60. He it is who calleth you in during the night,[7] and knoweth what ye have earned in the day, then He raiseth you up in it, that a stated term may be completed; at last to Him is your return, and He will then announce to you what ye have been doing.

61. He is the Supreme above His servants, and He sendeth watchers [8]

[1] By differences of wealth and station.
[2] Not the Evidence, but probably the threatened punishment.
[3] The punishment.
[4] Var. lect. "decides."
[5] Var. lect. "keys."
[6] The future.
[7] The souls of men in sleep.
[8] *I.e.* angels to record their deeds.

over you, until, when death comes to one of you, Our messengers call him in, and they do not let slip.

62. Then they are returned to Allah their true master; does not the jurisdiction belong to Him? He is the quickest of reckoners.

63a. Say: "Who delivers you from the darknesses of land and sea?"

64. Say: "Allah delivers you from them and from every distress, but afterwards ye associate (others with Him)."

63b. "Ye call upon Him in humility and secret: 'If Thou deliver us from this, we shall surely be of those who are thankful.'"

65a. Say: "He is the one who is able to stir up against you punishment from above you or from beneath your feet, or to bring confusion of parties among you and cause you to experience each other's violence."

66. Thy people have counted it[1] false, though it is the truth; say: "I am not a trustee over you." Every announcement has its time of falling due, and in the end ye shall know.

65b. See how We turn the signs about, mayhap they will understand.

Warning to avoid those who ridicule the revelations.
Medinan (?), revised.

67. When thou seest those who plunge into Our signs (in discussion) turn from them until they plunge into some other subject;
and if perchance Satan make thee forget, do not sit, after the reminder, with the wrong-doing people.

68. Not that any part of their account falls upon those who show piety, but it is a reminder, mayhap they will show piety.

69a. And leave alone those who have taken their religion as play and sport, and whom this nearer life has deluded;

69b. Remind thereby[2] that a person is laid in pledge by what he has piled up,[3] apart from Allah there is neither patron nor intercessor for him, and if he offer any equivalent, it will not be accepted from him.

69c. these are they who are laid in pledge by what they have piled up; for them is (in store) hot (water) to drink and painful punishment, for the unbelief they have been showing.

[1] The Qur'ān, or the punishment (?).
[2] By the Qur'ān.
[3] *I.e.* will be held responsible for his actions.

Refusal to return to the worship of idols. Meccan, revised in Medina.

70. Say: "Shall we call upon apart from Allah, what neither profits us nor injures us, and go back upon our steps, after Allah hath guided us,
like one upon whom the satans have cast a spell of confusion in the land, though he has companions who call him to the guidance 'Come to us'?"
Say: "The guidance of Allah is the guidance, and we have been commanded to surrender ourselves to the Lord of the worlds.
71. And to observe the Prayer, and show piety to Him"; He it is to whom ye will be rounded up.

Meccan scraps, revised, in Medina.

72. He it is who created the heavens and the earth in truth, and on the day when He says: "Be!" then it is.
73. What He says is the truth, and to Him belongs the power on the day when the trumpet will be blown; Knower of the hidden and the revealed, He is the Wise, the Well-informed.

Abraham disputes with his people. Meccan (?).

74. (Recall) when Abraham said to his father Azar[1]: "Dost thou take idols as gods? Verily I think that thou and thy people are in manifest error."
80. But his people disputed with him; said he: "Do ye dispute with me in regard to Allah, though He hath guided me; I fear not what ye associate with Him except (it be) that my Lord will something (against me); My Lord's knowledge is wide enough for everything; will ye not then be reminded?

Abraham convinced of Monotheism. Medinan.

75. Thus do We show Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and (it is) in order that he may be one of the convinced.
76. When the night came down upon him, he saw a star; said he: "This is my Lord," but when it vanished, he said: "I love not the things which vanish."
77. Then when he saw the moon shining forth, he said: "This is my Lord," but when it vanished, he said: "Truly, if

[1] May possibly rest on a confusion with Abraham's servant Eleazar. (Fraenkel).

81. How should I fear what ye have associated (with Him), when ye are not afraid to associate with Allah what He hath not sent you down any authority for? Which of the two parties is the better entitled to feel secure, if ye have any knowledge?"

82. Those who have believed and have not confused their belief with wrong-doing—theirs is the security, and they are the guided.

my Lord guide me not, I shall be of the people who go astray."
78. Then when he saw the sun shining forth, he said: "This is my Lord, this is greater," but when it vanished, he said: "O my people, I am quit of what ye associate (with Allah).
79. "I have set my face towards Him who opened up the heavens and the earth, as a Ḥanīf and I am not one of the Polytheists."
83. That argument of Ours We gave to Abraham against his people; We raise in rank whomsoever We will; verily, thy Lord is wise, knowing.

Continuation of 74, 80–82, *revised at time of* 75–79, 83.

84. And We gave him Isaac and Jacob —each one We guided, and Noah We guided previously— and of his posterity (came) David and Solomon and Job and Joseph and Moses and Aaron —thus do We reward those who do well—

85. And Zechariah and John and Jesus and Elias —each one of the righteous—

86. And Ishmael and al-Yasa'[1] and Jonah and Lot —each one We gave preference above the worlds—

87. And some of their fathers and their posterity and their brethren; We chose them and guided them to a straight path.

88. That is the guidance of Allah, He guideth thereby whomsoever of His servants He willeth; but if they were to associate (other gods

89. These are they upon whom We have bestowed the Book, and the jurisdiction and the prophetic office; so if these (people)[2] disbelieve

90. These are they whom Allah hath guided, so copy (thou) their guidance; say: "I ask you for no reward for it; it is a re-

[1] Probably Elisha.

[2] If the verse is Medinan, as is almost certain, this will refer to the Jews, and those to whom the true religion is now entrusted will be Muhammad's followers.

minder to the worlds."

in it, We have already entrusted it to a people who are not disbelievers in it.

with Him), of no avail to them would be what they have been doing.

Possibility of revelation to a man ; early Medinan (?) ; revised.

91. They have not estimated the power of Allah aright, when they said : " Allah hath not sent down anything to a human being " ; say (thou) : " Who sent down the Book which Moses brought as a light and guidance to the people, ye make it parchments which ye show while concealing much— and ye have been taught what ye did not know, neither ye nor your fathers ? " [1] Say : " Allah," and leave them in their discussion playing about.

The Book sent to Muhammad, and penalty of putting forward false revelations ; directed against the Jews ; year II. or III.

92. This is a Book which We have sent down which is blessed and confirms that which is before it,[2] and (it is sent) that thou mayest warn the mother of the towns [3] and those round it ; those who believe in the Hereafter believe in it and they their Prayer do carefully guard.

93. And who does greater wrong than he who invents falsehood about Allah, or says : " A (divine) suggestion has been made to me," when no suggestion has been made to him at all ; or who says : " I shall send down the like of what Allah hath sent down " ? [4] If thou couldst see when the wrong-doers are in the floods of death and the angels are stretching out their hands, (saying) : " Out with yourselves ! To-day ye shall receive the punishment of humiliation as your recompence for what ye have been saying about Allah other than the truth, and the self-conceit with which ye have treated His signs " . . .

94. " Now ye have come to us singly as We created you the first time, and have left what We made you stewards of behind your backs ; nor do We see along with you your intercessors whom ye asserted

[1] *I.e.* by revelation. [2] The revelation already given to others.

[3] Usually taken as denoting Mecca, but more probably Medina.

[4] The reference is probably not to the false prophets, but to the Jews who regarded their oral law as divine.

to be partners in you; the tie between you has been cut, and strayed from you has what ye have been asserting (to exist)." [1]

Signs; Meccan, originally unrhymed; revised and rhymed early in Medina.

95. Allah is the one who causeth the grain and the date-stone to burst, producing the living from the dead, and who produceth the dead from the living;
—that is Allah, how are ye then involved in lies?
96. Who causeth the dawning to burst forth, and who hath appointed the night as a rest, the sun and the moon as a reckoning;
—that is the disposition of the Sublime, the Knowing.
97. He it is who hath appointed for you the stars that ye may guide yourselves thereby in the darknesses of land and sea;
—We have made the signs distinct for a people who have knowledge.
98. He it is who hath caused you to spring from one person, and there is a gathering-place and a place of deposit;
—We have made the signs distinct for a people who understand.
99. He it is who hath sent down water from the heaven; and thereby have We produced vegetation of every kind, and from it have We produced green shoots, from which We produce close-packed grain, and palm-trees from the spathes of which come down-hanging bunches of dates, and gardens of vines and olives and pomegranates like and unlike; look at its bearing and ripening when it produces fruit; surely in that are signs for a people who believe.

Folly of Polytheism; Meccan.

100. They ascribe to Allah as partners the jinn, though He hath created them and they postulate [2] for Him sons and daughters without knowledge; glory be to Him and may He be exalted (far) from what they chatter!
101. Originator of the heavens and the earth, how shall He have offspring, seeing He has had no female companion, and has created everything? He everything doth know.

[1] Verse 94 is probably spoken by Allah.

[2] The verb means properly "to perforate," and is interpreted here as "to ascribe falsely."

Originally unrhymed ; continuation of 95–99a.

102. That is Allah your Lord, there is no god but He, the creator of everything, so serve Him ;

He of everything hath charge.

103. Sight reacheth not to Him, but He is able to reach the sight ;

He is the Gentle, the Well-informed.

104. There have come to you demonstrations from your Lord ; if anyone opens his eyes, it is for his own advantage ; if anyone remains blind, it is to his own disadvantage ; over you am I no guardian.

Continuation of 95–99 *in revised form.*

105. Thus do We turn the signs about, and (it is) in order that they may say : " Thou hast studied " and that We may make it clear to a people who have knowledge.

106. Follow what has been suggested to thee from thy Lord—there is no god but He—and turn from the associators.[1]

107. If Allah had so willed they would not have associated (others with Him) ; We have not appointed thee a guardian over them, and thou over them hast not charge.

Attitude to other deities ; a Meccan counsel, revised in Medina.

108. Do not revile what they call upon apart from Allah, lest they in response[2] revile Allah without knowledge ;

thus do We cause every community's conduct to seem fair to itself, then to their Lord is their return, and He shall announce to them what they have been doing.

A sign of no use ; early Medinan, probably referring to the Jews.

109. They have sworn by Allah as solemnly as they could that if a sign come to them they will believe in it ; say : " Signs are in the power of Allah " ; what will enable you to perceive that when it does come they will not believe ?

110. We shall turn away their hearts and eyes just as they did not believe in it the first time, and We shall leave them in their arrogance blindly wandering.

111. Even if We had sent down the angels to them, and the dead had spoken to them, and had We brought together for them everything as guarantors, they would not have been such as to believe, unless Allah had so willed ; but most of them are ignorant.

[1] The Polytheists.

[2] Lit. " running," probably " in a race or competition with you."

Opposition to the prophet ; early Medinan, revised later.

112. Thus have We appointed for every prophet an enemy, —satans[2] of men and jinn who suggest tinsel speech to each other as a delusion ; if thy Lord so willed they would not do it, so leave them and what they devise.

113. And (it is) in order that the hearts of those who do not believe in the Hereafter may give attention to him and be satisfied with him, and that they may acquire what they are acquiring.[1]

114a. Shall I then desire any other than Allah as judge ?

Perfection of Allah's guidance ; early Medinan.

115. Perfect are the words of thy Lord in veracity and justice ; no one can change His words ; He is the Hearer, the Knower.

116. If thou obey the majority of those who are in the land they will lead thee astray from the way of Allah ; they follow nothing but opinion and are only conjecturing.

117. Verily thy Lord best knoweth who leads astray from His way and He best knoweth those who let themselves be guided.

118. So eat that over which the name of Allah has been pronounced if in His signs ye are believers.

120. But avoid both open and secret guilt ; verily those who pile up guilt will one day be recompensed for what they have been acquiring.

114b. He it is who hath sent down to you the Book distinctly set forth, and those to whom We have given the Book know that it is sent down from thy Lord in truth, so be not of those who doubt.

119. What is the matter with you that ye eat not that over which the name of Allah has been pronounced, seeing He hath distinctly set forth what is forbidden you, unless ye be compelled to it ?[3] But, verily, many go astray[4] by their lusts without knowledge ; thy Lord best knoweth the transgressors.

[1] *I.e.* of guilt.

[2] Perhaps referring to Jewish leaders as in ii. 13.

[3] See vv. 146 f.

[4] Var. lect. " lead astray."

Probably connects with v. 113.

122. Is one who was dead and whom We have brought to life and appointed for him a light to walk by among the people, like one who is to be compared to (a man) in darknesses out of which he never emerges? So to the unbelievers are made to seem fair the works they have been doing.

121. But eat not that over which the name of Allah has not been pronounced; for it is iniquity; and verily the satans make suggestions to their clients, that they may wrangle with you, but if ye obey them, ye are polytheists.

Opposition of Jewish (?) leaders; possibly followed 109–111; 125 *added later.*

123. Thus have We set in every town great ones amongst its sinners, that they may plot in it; but they only plot against themselves without perceiving.

124. When a sign comes to them, they say: "We will not believe until there is given to us the like of what was given to the messengers of Allah"; Allah best knoweth where to place His message; one day there will come upon those who have sinned inferiority in Allah's sight and a violent punishment for their plotting.

Possibly followed 120.

126. This is the path of thy Lord straightly—We have made the signs distinct for a people who let themselves be reminded.
127. For them is the abode of peace with their Lord and He is their patron for the works they have been doing.

125. If Allah will to guide anyone He enlargeth his breast for Islam, but if He will to send him astray He maketh his breast narrow and contracted as if he were climbing up into the heaven; thus doth Allah lay the abomination upon those who do not believe.

A judgment scene; connected with v. 100 *(?); revised in Medina.*

128. On the day when We[1] shall round them all up together: "O company of jinn, ye have asked much of mankind"; their clients from among mankind will say: "O our Lord, some of us made

[1] Var. lec. "He."

use of others, but we have reached the term which Thou hast set for us " ;

He will say : " The Fire is your abode therein to abide," except as Allah willeth ; verily thy Lord is wise, knowing.

129. Thus do We make the wrong-doers patrons and clients, one of the other, for what they have been piling up.

130. " O company of jinn and men, did there not come to you messengers from among yourselves, recounting to you My signs, and warning you of meeting this your day ? " ; they will say : " We bear witness against ourselves."

The nearer life has deluded them and they bear witness against themselves that they have been unbelievers.

131. That is because thy Lord is not one to destroy the towns unjustly while their people are inattentive.

Meccan ; v. 136 *probably Medinan.*

134. Verily what ye are being promised [1] is coming and ye are not such as to frustrate (it).

135. Say : " O my people, go on acting as ye are doing, I am going to act (my way) ; sometime ye will know

136. To whom the dwelling will in the end belong ; [2] verily the wrong-doers will not prosper."

Perhaps added to v. 127.

132. But to each are degrees according to what they have done, and thy Lord is not inattentive to what they are doing.

133. Thy Lord is the Rich, wielder of mercy ; if He so willeth He will remove you and leave as successors after you what He willeth, just as He caused you to spring up from the progeny of another people.[3]

Arab Paganism ; probably Meccan revised in Medina.

137. They assign to Allah from the tilth and cattle He has produced a portion and say : " This is for Allah " as they assert, " And this is for our associate-gods " ; but what is for their associate-gods

[1] *I.e.* " the punishment."

[2] Lit. " the latter end of the dwelling," here probably the earthly settlement.

[3] If the verse be Medinan, as is probable, this may refer to the Moslem community formed by accretion from various tribes.

never reaches Allah, and what is for Allah also comes to their associate-gods [1]—a bad judgment do they make.

138. Thus to many of the polytheists the killing of their children has been made to appear commendable
by their associate-gods in order that they may destroy them and confuse their religion for them; but if Allah had so willed they would not have done it, so leave them alone with what they invent.

139. They say: "These are cattle and crops which are taboo, none but those whom we will may eat of them" as they assert, "and cattle whose backs are forbidden, and cattle over which the name of Allah is not to be mentioned," a mere invention about Him;
He will one day recompense them for what they have been inventing.

140. They say: "What is in the bellies of these cattle is reserved for our males and forbidden to our spouses, but if it be dead they are sharers in it";
He will one day recompense them for their chatter, verily He is wise, knowing.

141. Lost have they who have killed their children stupidly without knowledge, and have made forbidden what Allah hath provided for them, from mere invention about Allah;
they have gone astray and have not been guided.

Signs; Meccan, adapted in Medina to combat food-taboos.

142. He it is who hath produced gardens, trellised and untrellised,[2] palm-trees and crops of varied produce, olives and pomegranates, like and unlike;
eat of their fruit when they bear and give the due portion of it on the day of its harvesting; but be not extravagant, for He loveth not the extravagant.

143. And from the cattle hath He produced beasts of burden and furnishings;
eat of what Allah hath provided for you and follow not the footsteps of Satan, for he is to you an enemy manifest.

144. Eight paired together, two of sheep, and two of goats;
say: "Hath He forbidden the two males or the two females,

[1] Muhammad is using his own language, not that of the pagans; the sense is that a portion is set aside for the gods in general and then divided amongst the various deities.

[2] Or "terraced, and unterraced."

or what the wombs of the two females enclose ? Inform me with knowledge, if ye speak the truth."

145. Two of camels and two of oxen ;
say : " Hath He forbidden the two males or the two females, or what the wombs of the two females enclose, or were ye witnesses when Allah gave you this charge ? So who does greater wrong than he who invents falsehood against Allah in order to lead the people astray without knowledge ? Verily Allah doth not guide the people of wrong-doers."

Forbidden foods ; Medinan.

146. Say : " I do not find in what is suggested to me anything forbidden to one who eats of it, unless it be a dead animal,[1] or blood which is shed, or the flesh of swine—for it is abomination—or an impious thing over which the name of a god other than Allah has been invoked ; but if one is compelled, not lusting or transgressing—then verily thy Lord is forgiving, compassionate."

147. And to those who have judaised, We have forbidden every animal which has claws,[2] and of oxen and the smaller domestic animals [3] We have forbidden them the fat except what is carried by their backs or the intestines, or what is mixed with the bone ; that have We made a recompence for their greed ; verily We speak the truth.

148. So if they accuse thee of falsehood, say : " Your Lord is of wide mercy, but His attack will not be turned back from the people of sinners."

Retort to a mocking argument ; early Medinan ; vv. 150, 151 *may be alternative endings to* 149, *or entirely detached.*

149. Those who have associated (others with Allah) will say : " If Allah had so willed we should not have associated (anything with Him) neither we nor our fathers, nor should we have made anything forbidden " ; so did those who were before them count (the message) false, until they tasted Our violence. Say : " Have ye any (revealed) knowledge ? Bring it forth for us then ; ye follow nothing but opinion, and ye are only conjecturing."

[1] *I.e.* one which has died of itself.

[2] The word can hardly mean " hoof," though the reference is no doubt to the cloven hoof of Lev. xi., Deut. xiv.

[3] *Ghanam*, including sheep and goats.

150. Say: "To Allah belongs the convincing argument; if He had so willed, He would have guided you all in a body."
151. Say: "Here with your witnesses who testify that Allah hath forbidden this!" If then they testify, do not thou testify with them and follow not the desires of those who have counted Our signs false, who do not believe in the Hereafter, and in regard to their Lord do waver.

A summary of religious duties; Medinan, probably earlier than 146–148; *v.* 154 *added later.*

152. Say: "Come, let me repeat what your Lord hath forbidden you; do not associate anything with Him; with (your) parents (exercise) kindness; do not kill your children because of poverty, We shall provide for you and them; do not draw near indecencies, either those which are open or those which are concealed; do not kill the person whom Allah hath made forbidden except with justification; that is what He hath charged you with, mayhap ye will be intelligent.
153. Do not interfere with the property of the orphan, except to improve it, until he reach his full age; fill up the measure and the balance with justice—We lay not upon anyone burdens beyond his capacity; when ye speak, act fairly, even though it be a relative; the covenant of Allah fulfil; that is what He hath charged you with, mayhap ye will be reminded;

Meccan or very early Medinan.

155. Then We gave Moses the Book, a crowning mercy[1] for him who had done well, a clear setting forth of everything, a guidance and a mercy, mayhap in the meeting of their Lord they would believe.

154. And that this is My path straightly. Follow it then, and do not follow the ways so that they diverge with you from His way; that is what He hath charged you with, mayhap ye will show piety."

The Book revealed to Muhammad; year II. or III.; v. 156*b a later substitute for* 157–159 (*?*).

156. And this is a Book which We have sent down

[1] Lit. "a completion" or "perfection"; the phrase is also interpreted to mean "perfect for him who does well," or "perfect in that which it lays down as good."

157. Lest you should say: "The Book has only been sent down to two parties before us, and to their study we have been inattentive." (it is) blessed, so follow it and show piety, mayhap mercy will be shown you.

158. Or lest ye should say: "If only the Book had been sent down to us, we should have been more rightly guided than they," though there had come to you an Evidence from your Lord, a guidance and a mercy; who then does greater wrong than he who counts the signs of Allah false and shuns them? We shall recompense those who have shunned Our signs an evil punishment for their have been shunning (them).

159. Do they expect anything but that the angels should come to them [1] or that thy Lord should come [2] or that one of the signs of thy Lord should come? [3] On the day when one of the signs of thy Lord comes, belief will not profit any person who has not previously believed, or amassed some good in his belief; say: "Wait in expectation, we also are waiting."

Muhammad independent of Jews and Christians; year II.

160. As for those who have divided up their religion and become sects, thou hast no part with them whatever; their affair comes really to Allah, then He will announce to them what they have been doing.

161. He who brings a good deed shall have ten times as much, but he who brings an evil deed shall be recompensed exactly the like, and they will not be wronged.

162. Say: "As for me, my Lord hath guided me to a straight path, on a right [4] religion the creed of Abraham as a Ḥanīf and he was not one of the associators." [5]

163. Say: "My prayer and my religious exercises, my living and my dying, are in the hands of Allah, Lord of the worlds, to whom there is no partner; thus have I been commanded, and I am the first of those who surrender themselves." [6]

164. Say: "Shall I desire any other than Allah as Lord, seeing He is Lord of everything? No one amasses anything except upon himself, and no one bears the burden of another, then to your Lord is your

[1] At death.
[2] At the Judgment.
[3] Some special catastrophe.
[4] Or perhaps "eternal."
[5] Polytheists.
[6] Moslems.

return and He will announce to you that in regard to which ye have been differing." [1]

165. He it is who hath made you vice-gerents in the earth and hath raised some of you above others in rank, in order to try you by what He hath given you. Verily thy Lord is quick to inflict consequences, but He is forgiving, compassionate.

[1] Where exactly the declaration introduced by "say" comes to an end is not clear.

SURAH VII

This surah consists of three main parts, an address to men in general, based on the story of Creation and the Fall, a series of stories of punishment inflicted on peoples for unbelief, and the story of Moses, which leads on to that of the children of Israel. At the beginning is an introduction, vv. 1–8, the arrangement of which is very uncertain. That there is a break between v. 1 and v. 2 appears from the change of address; vv. 3, 4, and 5–8 might connect with v. 1, or the two together might be continuous with v. 2. The figure of the balances, however, appears to be early, cf. xxiii. 104 f. and ci. 5 f., while vv. 3, 4 are apparently related to vv. 95 ff., which refer to the Jewish colonies in Medina. Vv. 2–4 are, therefore, probably an addition to the introduction written on the back of an earlier passage, vv. 5–8. The story of Iblīs and of the Fall of Adam both show signs of having been built up at different times, but were either composed as they stand here or taken over from some earlier version; in any case, they are probably earlier than the introduction. The series of admonitions to the children of Adam which follow are of different dates, but have been revised for their present position. The revisions seem to date from the time of controversy with the Jews. The last of the admonitions, v. 33, was probably early Medinan to begin with and was continued by vv. 38, 44, 46, 47, an account of the Judgment which shows distinct Christian influence. This was, however, discarded, all but the beginning of 38, which was then continued by 39, 40ac, 41, 42a, 45. This also was revised by the substitution of 42b, 43, 48, 49 for 45, the latter verse along with other discarded material being used for the writing of the new version. Finally, the much revised passage, 38 ff., was perhaps entirely discarded and replaced by 34, 35, which furnish the contrast to 33, and for the writing of which the back of a considerably older scrap was utilised. Vv. 50, 51, which have probably been written on the back of a " sign "-passage, may then have been intended to follow vv. 34, 35. The " sign "-passage which is entirely out of connection here, has itself been much revised, and was probably early Meccan, revised perhaps finally for Medinan use.

In the form in which they stand here, the stories of punishment are certainly Medinan (cf. especially the phraseology in the story of Shu'aib, vv. 83 ff.), but they are based on earlier material. Those of Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Shu'aib are bound together by the phrase "We sent," v. 57, while that of Lot, which intervenes, vv. 78–82, is differently introduced, and was probably an addition to an early group, in which, however, it had no doubt taken its place before the composition of this surah.[1] That these five stories originally stood by themselves is shown by the intervention of vv. 92–100, which contain probably three conclusions to the discourse. Of these, 99 f. was perhaps the earliest; 95–97 distinctly point the moral against the Jewish colonies in Medina; while vv. 92–94 draw the lesson that the coming of a prophet always causes distress.

The story of Moses was evidently meant as an appendix to the group of punishment-stories already given. It was also based on earlier material, and in fact up to v. 122 is practically taken from Surah XXVI. From there onwards to v. 133, where the punishment-story really ends, it is more independent. We then enter upon the subsequent history of the people of Moses. The treatment here appears on the whole to be earlier than that in Surah II., but there are later insertions, cf. especially vv. 141–145, 151, 152, and 156, which latter has been written on the back of an extraneous passage, 157, 158. There are traces of an earlier rhyme in *-ā* in this portion of the story, and this becomes quite clear in 159–162, which look as if they might have been originally intended to form part of Surah XX., and been rerhymed to suit their position in this surah. The same underlying rhyme may be detected in 163–166a, but this story was probably later discovered to be apocryphal, and has been so revised as to be almost unrecognisable. So also in 166b–168, which have also been revised and added to. To the same time as this addition may belong the enigmatic story of the messenger who failed to carry out his commission, which has been written on the back of a number of unconnected scraps; and the threat to the Jews, 181–185, itself possibly based on a Meccan passage, and written on the back of 186–188.

At the end of the surah, we have a number of passages which seem to have little connection with the rest of it. Most of them have had Medinan additions made to them.

[1] See *The Moslem World*, 1934, pp. 334 f.

Sūrat al-'A'rāf—Chapter of the A'rāf.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Medinan Heading.

1. Alif, Lām, Mīm, Ṣād.
A Book which has been sent down to thee—so let there be no straitness in thy breast because of it—in order that thou mayest warn thereby, and as a reminder to the believers.

Obedience to revelation demanded; Medinan, perhaps referring to Jews.

2. Follow what has been sent down to you from your Lord, and follow not patrons apart from Him—little do ye let yourselves be reminded.
3. How many a town have We destroyed upon which Our violence came at night or when they were taking their ease!
4. Their only cry when Our violence came upon them was that they said: "We have surely been wrong-doers."

The Last Judgment; late Meccan?

5. We shall assuredly question those to whom a messenger has been sent, and We shall question those who have been sent.
6. We shall recount to them with knowledge; We have not been absent.[1]
7. The standard[2] that day will be the truth; whosoever balances are heavy—these are the ones who prosper.
8. Whosoever balances are light—these are they who have lost themselves because of the wrong they have been doing in the matter of Our signs.

Allah's dealings with mankind; probably Meccan with later additions.

9. We have given you a place[3] in the land and appointed for you means of life in it—little gratitude do ye show.
10. We created you and formed you, then We said to the angels: "Do obeisance to Adam," and they did obeisance, except Iblīs who was not one of the doers of obeisance.

[1] The idea is that what they have done will be established, and there will be no possibility of concealment.

[2] Lit. "the weighing," or "the weight," *i.e.* the standard by which things will be tried.

[3] Or "power."

11. He [1] said: "What prevented thee from doing obeisance when I commanded thee?" He replied: "I am better than he; Thou hast created me from fire, but him Thou hast created from clay."
12. He said: "Get thee down from it![2] It is not for thee to show pride in it; so get out! Verily thou art one of the abased."
13. He said: "Respite me till the day of their being raised up."
14. He said: "Thou art one of the respited."
15. He replied: "As Thou hast perverted me, I will beset for them Thy straight path.
16. Then I will come upon them from before and from behind, from the right hand and from the left; Thou wilt not find the most of them showing gratitude."
17. He said: "Get out of it, scorned and banished; if any of them follow thee, I will assuredly fill Gehenna with you all together."
18. "O Adam, inhabit the Garden, thou and thy spouse, and eat from wherever ye please, but come not nigh this tree, lest ye be of the wrong-doers."
19. Then Satan whispered to them with intent to reveal to them their shameful parts which had been hidden from them, and said: "Your Lord hath only forbidden you this tree lest ye should become angels or be of the immortals."
20. And he asserted with an oath: "Verily I am of those who give you good advice."
21. So he let them down [3] by deceit; then when they had tasted the tree, their shameful parts appeared to them, and they began sewing upon themselves some of the leaves of the Garden; but their Lord called to them: "Did I not forbid you that tree, and say to you: 'Verily Satan is to you a manifest enemy'?"
22. They said: "O our Lord, we have wronged ourselves, and if Thou dost not pardon us and have mercy upon us, we shall surely be among the losers."

[1] Allah; the abrupt change of pronoun is probably due to the story having been expanded from its original form.

[2] The Garden?

[3] *Dallā*, properly "to dangle," "let down like a bucket into a well" only occurs here; we should perhaps read *dalla*="he directed," cf. xx. 118.

23. He said: "Get ye down in enmity one to the other;[1] in the earth there is for you a place of abode, and enjoyment of life for a time."
24. He said: "In it ye shall live, in it ye shall die, and from it ye shall be brought forth."[2]

A series of morals appended to the story; probably of different dates.

25. O children of Adam, We have sent down to you clothing which conceals your shameful parts, and fine feathers, but the garment of piety is better; that is one of the signs of Allah, mayhap they will be reminded.
26. O children of Adam, let not Satan try you, as he caused your parents to go forth from the Garden, divesting them of their raiment that he might show them their shameful parts; he sees you, he and his tribe, from whence ye see not them;

. . . . . .

28. Say: "My Lord hath commanded justice."

. . . . . .

Original ending of 26?

And set yourselves in order at every place of worship, and call upon Him, making Him the exclusive object of religion.

. . . . . .

As He began you, ye will come again, He having guided a part and a part having justly incurred the penalty of going astray;

They have taken the satans as patrons apart from Allah, and they think that they are guided.

We have made the satans patrons of those who do not believe.

27. When they commit an indecency, they say: "We found our fathers doing this, and Allah hath so commanded us." Say: "Verily Allah doth not command indecency; do ye say against Allah that which ye do not know?"

29. O children of Adam, take your adornment at every place of worship and eat and drink, but do not be extravagant, verily He loveth not the extravagant.

[1] Adam and Eve are the representatives of mankind, who live in mutual enmity.

[2] *I.e.* at the Resurrection.

30a. Say: "Who has forbidden the adornment which Allah hath produced for His servants, and the good things provided?"
30b. Say: "On the day of resurrection it[1] is exclusively for those who in this life have believed."
30c. Thus do We make the signs distinct for a people who have knowledge.

31. Say: "My Lord hath only forbidden indecencies, both open and secret, and guilt, and unjustified greed;

and the association with Allah of that for which He hath sent down no authority, and the saying against Allah of what ye do not know."
32. Every community has its term and when its term comes, they will not stay an hour behind nor will they go in advance.

33. O children of Adam, if at any time there come to you messengers from among yourselves recounting to you My signs, then whoever shows piety and acts uprightly, upon them shall be no fear and they shall not grieve.

A Judgment-scene.
Meccan (?).

34. But those who have counted Our signs false, and been too proud to receive them—they are the inmates of the Fire, therein to abide.
35. Who does greater wrong than he who invents falsehood against Allah or counts His signs false? These their portion of the Book will reach,[2] until, when Our messengers[3] come to them to call them in, they say: "Where is what ye used to call

36. He will say: "Enter into the Fire among communities of jinn and men who have passed away before you"; every time a community enters it will curse its sister, until, when they have all followed each other into it the last of them will say to the first: "O our Lord, these caused us to go astray, so bring upon them a double punishment of the Fire." He will say: "To each, double; but ye have no knowledge."

[1] The pronoun might possibly refer to the adornment and good things spoken of in the first part of the verse, but improbably.

[2] The reference seems to be to the Jews (and Christians), who have received a "portion" of the Book, and will be judged by it.

[3] The angels of death.

37. And the first of them will say to the last: "Ye had then no superiority over us. Taste then the punishment for what ye have been amassing."

upon apart from Allah?" and they reply: "They have strayed from us," and bear witness against themselves that they have been unbelievers.

Fate of those who refuse to believe; early Medinan, probably intended to follow 33*; revised more than once.*

38. Verily for those who have counted Our signs false and been too proud to receive them,

the gates of heaven will not be opened, nor will they enter the Garden, until a camel passes through the eye of a needle;[1] so do We recompense the sinners.

39. Is a bed in Gehenna and coverings above them; so do We recompense the wrong-doers.

40a. But those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness—40c. these are the inmates of the Garden, therein abiding;

40b. We lay not upon anyone more than he is capable of.

41a. We shall extract all rancour from their breasts.

Joins to 40*ac, but may be slightly later.*

41b. Beneath them the rivers flowing, and they shall say: "The praise be to Allah who hath guided us to this, though we were not such as to be guided had not Allah guided us; the messengers of our Lord have come with the truth." And it will be proclaimed: "This is the Garden; ye have been made heirs of it for the works ye have been doing."

42a. The inmates of the Garden shall call to the inmates of the Fire: "We have found what our Lord promised us true; have ye found what your Lord promised you true?"; they shall reply: "Yes!"

Original continuation of 38.

44. Between the two (parties) of them is a partition, and (presiding) over the recognition[2] are

42b. And a herald shall proclaim amongst them: "The curse of Allah is upon the wrong-doers;

[1] Matt. xix. 24.

[2] Reading, by conjecture, *'i'rāf*, instead of the unintelligible *'a'rāf*, *vide The Moslem World*, 1932, pp. 43 ff.; the idea is probably based on Matt. xxv, 31 ff.

men who recognise each by their mark, and they call to the inmates of the Garden: "Peace be upon you! they have not entered it, much as they yearned (to do so)."

43. Who turn (others) aside from the way of Allah and would have it crooked, and who in the Hereafter disbelieve."

Original end of 42.

45. And when their eyes are turned towards the inmates of the Fire, they say: "O our Lord, place us not with the wrong-doing people."

48. The inmates of the Fire shall call to the inmates of the Garden: "Cause some of the water or of what Allah hath provided for you to overflow upon us";[3] they will reply: "Verily Allah hath forbidden both to the unbelievers;

Continuation of 44.

46. The men of the recognition shall call to men whom they recognise by their mark, and say: "Your gathering[1] has not benefited you nor the pride which ye have been showing;

47. Are these the ones whom ye swore that Allah would not reach with (His) mercy?" "Enter the Garden without fear upon you and without grieving."[2]

49. Who have taken their religion as a pastime and a play and whom this nearer life has deluded." So to-day We forget them as they forgot the meeting of this their day, and as they used Our signs to gainsay.

The Book the norm of Judgment; may continue 49, *at any rate about the same time as* 34, 35.

50. We have brought them a Book, which We set out distinctly according to knowledge, as a guidance and a mercy to a people who believe.

51. Do they expect anything but the interpretation of it? On the day when the interpretation of it comes, those who forgot it before will say: "The messengers of our Lord came with the truth; have we then any intercessors to intercede for us, or may we be

[1] Of wealth.

[2] Here we have to imagine a dramatic turn from the one party to the other.

[3] Cf. Luke xvi. 24.

sent back to do otherwise than what we have been doing?" They have lost themselves, and strayed from them has what they have been inventing.

Signs; probably early scraps, revised, possibly more than once.

52. Verily your Lord is Allah, who created the heavens and the earth,
in six days, then seated Himself on the throne causing the night to cover the day, following it quickly,[1]
and the sun and the moon and the stars, subjected to service by His command; is it not His to create and to command? Blessed be Allah, Lord of the worlds.

53. Call upon your Lord in humility and secrecy;
verily He loveth not the ill-disposed; [2]
54. And do not cause corruption in the land after it has been set right;
call upon Him in fear and longing; verily the mercy of Allah is near to those who do well.

Effect of the rain; possibly continuation of 52, *before insertion of* 53, 54; *revised as an argument for the Resurrection.*

55. He it is who sends the winds ranging widely [3] in front of His mercy [4]
until when they have lightened heavy clouds
We drive it [5] to dead soil, and send down water thereby and by it bring forth all kinds of fruits; thus do We bring forth the dead, mayhap ye will be reminded; And
56. the vegetation of good land comes forth, by the permission of its Lord, but of that which is bad it comes forth only scantily;
thus do We turn the signs about, for a people who show thankfulness.

[1] Lit. "seeking it urgently," generally taken as referring to the night following quickly upon the day.

[2] Or "those who provoke hostility," cf. ii. 186.

[3] Var. lect. "bringers of good tidings."

[4] Here=rain; note the occurrence of the same word in a different sense in the preceding verse; this is the earlier use.

[5] Probably refers to the "clouds," though that word has already been treated as plural.

The penalty of rejecting a messenger; an early series of stories, in this form probably mainly late Meccan, but with early Medinan revisions here and there.

(a) *Noah and his people.*

57. We sent Noah to his people, and he said: "O my people, serve Allah, there is no god for you other than He; verily I fear for you a punishment of a mighty day."
58. Said the nobility of his people: "Verily we think thou art in manifest error."
59. Said he: "O my people, there is no error in me, but I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds.
60. I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and give you sincere advice; I have knowledge from Allah which ye have not.
61. Does it astonish you that a reminder from your Lord should come to you upon a man from amongst yourselves, in order that he may warn you, and that ye may show piety, mayhap mercy will be shown you?"
62. But they counted him false; so We rescued him and those with him in the ark, and We drowned those who counted Our signs false; verily they were a blind people.

(b) *Hūd and the people of ʿĀd.*

63. And to ʿĀd (We sent) their brother Hūd. He said: "O my people, serve Allah, there is no god for you other than He; will ye not then show piety?"
64. Said the nobility who disbelieved of his people: "We think thou art in stupidity, and we think thee one of the false."
65. Said he: "O my people, there is no stupidity in me, but I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds.
66. I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and I am to you a sincere adviser and faithful.
67. Does it astonish you that a reminder from your Lord should come to you upon a man from amongst yourselves, in order that he may warn you? Remember, when He made you successors after the people of Noah and increased you amply in size; and remember the gifts of Allah, mayhap ye will prosper."
68. Said they: "Hast thou come to us that we should serve Allah alone, and forsake what our fathers used to serve? Then bring us what thou promisest us,[1] if thou art one of those who speak the truth."

[1] The threatened punishment.

69. Said he: "There hath fallen upon you wrath [1] and anger from your Lord; will ye dispute with me about names [2] which you and your fathers have named, for which Allah has sent down no authority? Wait then! I too with you will be of those who wait."
70. So We rescued him and those with him by a mercy from Us, and utterly cut off those who counted Our signs false, and were not believers.

(c) *Ṣāliḥ and the people of Thamūd.*

71. And to Thamūd (We sent) their brother Ṣāliḥ; he said: "O my people, serve Allah, there is no god for you other than He; there has come to you an Evidence from your Lord; this is the she-camel of Allah as a sign for you; let her eat in the land of Allah, and molest her not, lest there seize you a painful punishment.
72. And remember when He made you successors after ʿĀd, and settled you in the land, taking of its level spaces for castles, and hewing out the mountains as houses; and remember the gifts of Allah and do not act mischievously in the land causing corruption."
73. Said the nobility who thought themselves great of his people, to those who were counted weak, to those of them who believed: "Do ye know that Ṣāliḥ is commissioned from his Lord?" Said they: "Verily in the message with which he has been sent we are believers."
74. Said those who thought themselves great: "Verily in that in which ye have believed, we are unbelievers."
75. So they hamstrung the she-camel and disdained the commandment of their Lord, and said: "O Ṣāliḥ, bring upon us what thou promisest us if thou art one of those commissioned."
76. So the earthquake seized them, and morning found them in their dwellings lying prone.
77. So he turned from them, and said: "O my people, I delivered to you the message of my Lord, and gave you sincere advice, but ye love not the sincere advisers."

(d) *Lot and his people.*

78. And Lot, when he said to his people: "Do ye commit indecency such as has not been committed before you by anyone in the worlds?
79. Ye approach men in lust rather than women! Nay, but ye are an extravagant people!"

[1] Or "abomination." [2] *I.e.* the false gods.

80. But the only answer of his people was to say: "Expel them from your town, for they are a people who make a show of purity."
81. So We rescued him and his household, with the exception of his wife—she was one of those who lingered.
82. And We caused a rain to fall upon them; see then of what nature was the latter end of the sinners.

(e) *Shu'aib and the people of Midian.*

83. And to Midian (We sent) their brother Shu'aib; he said: "O my people, serve Allah, there is no god for you other than He; there has come to you an Evidence from your Lord, so give full measure and just weight, and defraud not the people of their things, and cause not corruption in the land after it has been set right; that is better for you if ye are believers.
84. And sit not on every path making promises, and turning aside from the way of Allah those who have believed in Him, and eagerly desiring to have it crooked; and remember when ye were few and He multiplied you, and see of what nature was the latter end of those who caused corruption.
85. And if there be a party of you who believe in the message with which I have been sent, and a party who do not believe, then have patience until Allah judges between us; He is the best of those who judge."
86. Said the nobility who thought themselves great of his people: "Surely, O Shu'aib, we will expel thee and those who have believed with thee from our town, or else ye will return to our creed." Said he: "Even though we be unwilling?
87. We shall have invented falsehood against Allah, if we return to your creed, after Allah has rescued us from it; it is not for us to return to it unless Allah our Lord so will; our Lord's knowledge is wide enough for everything; upon Allah do we set our trust; O our Lord, give a true issue (to the dispute) between us and our people; Thou art the best of those who give issues."
88. Said the nobility who disbelieved of his people: "Assuredly, if ye follow Shu'aib, ye will in that case be losers."
89. So the earthquake seized them and morning found them those who counted Shu'aib false[1] in their dwellings lying prone,

[1] This phrase, which stands at the beginning of v. 90, seems to belong here as a gloss to "them."

90. As if they had never prospered therein ; those who counted Shu'aib false—they were the losers.
91. So he turned from them and said : " O my people, I delivered to you the messages of my Lord and gave you sincere advice ; how should I grieve over an unbelieving people ? "

The coming of a Prophet causes distress ; early Medinan (?).

92. We never sent a prophet to any town but there overtook the people of it bad times and dearth, that mayhap they might humble themselves.
93. Then in place of the evil We substituted good, until they wiped out (the impression),[1] and said : " Our fathers experienced both dearth and wealth " ; so We seized them suddenly when they were unaware.
94. Had the people of the towns believed and shown piety, We should have opened up to them blessings from the heaven and the earth ; but they counted (the message) false, so We seized them for what they had been piling up.

Application to the Jewish colonies ; early Medinan.

95. Do the people of the towns feel secure then against Our violence coming upon them at night when they are sleeping ?
96. And do the people of the towns feel secure against Our violence coming upon them in full day when they are playing ?
97. Do they feel secure then against the plot of Allah ? No one feels secure against the plot of Allah but the people who are losers.
98. Has it not come home to those who inherit the land after the people thereof, that did We so will, We should smite them for their sins ? But We put a seal upon their hearts so that they do not hear.

Conclusion of the punishment-stories ; followed v. 91.

99. These towns We recount thee the stories of ; their messengers came to them with the Evidences, but they were not such as to believe, because of the disbelief they had previously been guilty of ; thus does Allah put a seal upon the hearts of the unbelievers.
100. We found no covenant with the most of them ; We found the most of them reprobate.

[1] Or " became luxuriant," a possible, but unusual, sense of the word.

Moses and Pharaoh; an early Medinan addition to the preceding series of stories, based on Surah XXVI.

101. Then after them We sent Moses with Our signs to Pharaoh and his nobility, and they did wrong in regard to them;[1] see then of what nature was the latter end of those who wrought corruption.
102. Said Moses: "O Pharaoh, I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds,
103. Fully entitled, on the basis that[2] I speak about Allah nothing but the truth; I have brought you an Evidence from your Lord, so let go with me the Children of Israel."
Said he: "If thou hast brought a sign, produce it, if thou art one of those who speak the truth."
104. So he cast down his staff, and lo, it was a serpent manifest.
105. And he drew forth his hand, and lo, it was white to those who looked.
106. The nobility of the people of Pharaoh said: "Surely this is a knowing magician,
107. Who aims at expelling you from your land; so what do ye command?"
108. Said they: "Put him and his brother off (a while), and send among the cities men to round-up;
109. Let them bring to thee every knowing magician."
110. The magicians came to Pharaoh; said they: "Surely there is a reward for us if it is we who are the victors."
111. Said he: "Yes! and verily ye shall be of those brought near."
112. Said they: "O Moses, it is either thou to cast, or we shall be the ones to cast."
113. Said he: "Cast ye"; so when they cast they put a spell upon the eyes of the people and sought to terrify them and brought mighty magic (to bear).
114. We suggested to Moses that he should cast down his staff, and lo, there it was, swallowing what they were falsely devising.
115. So the truth appeared, and what they were doing became futile.
116. They were there overcome and returned abased.
117. The magicians were cast down in obeisance.
118. Said they: "We believe in the Lord of the worlds,
119. The Lord of Moses and Aaron."
120. Said Pharaoh: "Have ye believed in Him before I have given

[1] *I.e.*, the signs.
[2] Var. lect. "It is incumbent upon me that . . ."

you permission? This is surely a plot which ye have plotted in the city in order to expel its people from it; in the end ye shall know.

121. I shall certainly cut off your hands and your feet on opposite sides, then I shall crucify you all together."

122. Said they: "Verily to our Lord are we turning;

123. And thou takest vengeance upon us only because we have believed in the signs of Our Lord when they came to us; O our Lord, pour out upon us patience, and call us in [1] as Moslems." [2]

124. Said the nobility of Pharaoh's people: "Wilt thou leave Moses and his people to cause corruption in the land, and that he may forsake thee and thy gods?" Said he: "We shall kill their sons, and keep their females alive, and over them be victors."

125. Said Moses to his people: "Seek help in Allah, and endure patiently; verily the land belongs to Allah, He makes whomsoever He willeth of His servants inherit it, and the final issue is to those who show piety."

126. Said they: "We suffered injury before thou camest to us and after thou camest to us." Said he: "It may be that your Lord will destroy your enemy, and make you successors in the land, that He may see how ye will act."

127. We took hold of the House of Pharaoh with famine years, and lack of fruits, if mayhap they might be mindful.

128. So when good came to them they said: "This is ours," and when evil hit them they drew bad omens from Moses and his followers; is not their bad omen with Allah? But most of them do not know.

129. They said: "Whatever thou dost bring us of the nature of a sign, thereby to cast a spell upon us, in thee are we not going to be believers."

130. So We sent upon them the flood, and the locusts, and the lice, and the frogs, and the blood, as signs clearly set forth; but they thought themselves great and became a sinful people.

131. When the wrath fell upon them, they said: "O Moses, call upon thy Lord for us, by the covenant He hath made with thee; if thou remove the wrath from us, we shall surely believe in thee and let go with thee the Children of Israel."
But, when We removed the wrath from them, till a term which they reached, there they were, breaking faith.

132. So We took vengeance on them and drowned them in the sea, for having counted Our signs false, and been of them neglectful.

[1] *I.e.* to Thyself at death. [2] Or "people who are resigned."

133. And We caused the people who had been oppressed to inherit the east and the west of the land on which We had bestowed blessing ;[1] the good word of thy Lord was fulfilled upon the Children of Israel for their patience and We completely destroyed what Pharaoh and his people had been constructing and what they had been trellising.[2]

Moses and the Children of Israel ; early Medinan ; continuation of what precedes.

134. We passed through the sea with the Children of Israel, and they came upon a people who clave to idols which they had ; they said : " O Moses, make for us a god as they have gods " ; said he : " Surely ye are an ignorant people.
135. Verily, what these people are (living) in is (worthy) to be broken in pieces, and vain is what they have been doing.
136. Shall I seek for you a god other than Allah, when He has preferred you above the worlds ?
137. (Remember) when We rescued you from the House of Pharaoh, who were imposing upon you the worst of punishment, killing your sons and keeping your females alive, and in that was a mighty experience from your Lord."
138. We made an appointment with Moses for thirty nights, but We completed them with ten (more), so that the full period of his Lord's appointment was forty nights ; and Moses said to his brother Aaron : " Be my successor[3] among my people, and do uprightly, and follow not the way of those who cause corruption."
139. When Moses came to Our appointment, and his Lord spoke to him, he said : " O my Lord, show me, let me look upon Thee " ;[4] He said : " Thou wilt not see me, but look upon the mountain ; if it remain firm in its place, in the end thou wilt see me " ; but when his Lord unveiled His glory to the mountain, He made it powder, and Moses fell down thunderstruck. 140. Then when he recovered, he said : " Glory be to Thee ! I repent towards Thee, and am the first of the believers."
141. He said : " O Moses, I have singled thee out above the people with My messages and My word ;[5] so take what I have given thee and be of those who are thankful."
142. We wrote for him in the Tablets of everything an admonition,

[1] *I.e.* the Holy Land.
[2] Or " terracing " ; cf. vi. 142.
[3] Or " vice-gerent."
[4] Cf. Ex. xxxiii. 18 ff.
[5] Or possibly " My speaking to thee."

and a distinct setting forth of everything; "So take it with power, and command thy people, let them take the best of it. I shall show you the dwelling of the reprobate.

143. I shall turn from My signs those who set up to be great in the land falsely; though they see every sign they will not believe therein; though they see the way of righteousness they will not choose it as a way; but if they see the way of perversion, they will choose it as a way"; 144. that is because they have counted Our signs false, and of them have become neglectful.

145. Those who have counted false Our signs and the meeting of the Hereafter—their works have gone for nought; will they be recompensed for anything, but for what they have been doing?

146. Now the people of Moses, after he (left them), took of their ornaments a calf, a bodily appearance, with a low;[1] did they not see that it did not speak to them or guide them in any way?

147. They took it and became wrong-doers.

148. But when they fell on their hands,[2] and they saw that they had gone astray, they said: "Assuredly, if our Lord do not show mercy to us and forgive us, we shall be of the losers."

149. When Moses returned to his people angry and grieved, he said: "Ill have ye acted as my successors after I left you! Have ye hastened[3] the affair of your Lord?" He cast down the tablets, and took hold of the head of his brother dragging him to him; said he: "O mother's son, verily the people oppressed me and nearly killed me; so cause not the enemies to rejoice over me, and place me not with the wrong-doing people."

150. He said: "O my Lord, forgive me and my brother, and cause us to enter into Thy mercy, for Thou art the most merciful of those who show mercy."

151. Verily those who took the calf, anger from their Lord, and humiliation in this nearer life shall reach; so do We recompense those who invent.

152. But those who have done evil deeds, then thereafter have repented and believed—verily thy Lord is thereafter forgiving, compassionate.

153. Now when the anger died away[4] from Moses, he took the tablets,

[1] Talmudic *vide* Rodwell.

[2] Lit. "when there was a falling in their hands"; usually interpreted as meaning "when they repented," but more probably meaning "when they stumbled."

[3] In Arabic the word for "hasten" resembles that for "calf."

[4] Lit. "fell silent."

in the text of which were guidance and mercy for those who to their Lord give reverence.

154. And Moses chose his people, seventy men, to meet with us; then when the earthquake seized them, he said: "O my Lord, hadst Thou willed, Thou wouldst have destroyed them before, and me as well; wilt Thou destroy us for what stupids among us did? It is only Thy trial by which Thou sendest astray whom Thou willest and guidest whom Thou willest; Thou art our patron, so forgive us and have mercy upon us; Thou art the best of those who forgive.

155. Prescribe for us good in this world and in the Hereafter as well; lo, we have judaised[1] toward Thee." He said: "With My punishment I strike whomsoever I will, and My mercy is wide enough for everything; I shall prescribe it for those who show piety, who pay the Zakāt, and those who in Our signs do believe;

Call to believe in the messenger; Medinan.

157. Say: "O ye people, I am the messenger of Allah to you all,
158. to Whom belongs the realm of the heavens and the earth, than Whom there is no other god, Who giveth life and causeth to die; so believe in Allah and His messenger, the native[2] prophet, who believes in Allah and His words; follow him, mayhap ye will be guided."

156. Who follow the messenger, the native[2] prophet, whom they find mentioned[4] in the Torah and the Evangel in their possession, urging them to what is reputable, and restraining them from what is disreputable, making good things allowable for them and foul things forbidden, relieving them of their burden and the shackles which have been upon them; so those who believe in him and support and help him and follow the light which has been sent down with him—they are the ones who prosper."

From an earlier version of the story of Moses.

159. Of the people of Moses was a community guiding by the truth and thereby acting fairly.[3]
160a. And We cut them up into twelve tribes as communities.

[1] Or "reverted to," but the word is probably a play on the name Yahud.
[2] "Belonging to the community," but also probably implying lack of Scripture; cf. ii. 73.
[3] Or "wavering in regard to it."
[4] Lit. "written."

Probably continuation of 159, 160*a*, *but with additions altering the rhyme to that of this surah.*

160b. We suggested to Moses, when his people asked him to give them drink: "Strike the rock with thy staff"; then there gushed out from it twelve springs;
All the people already knew their drinking places; and We caused the thick cloud to shade them, and sent down upon them the manna and the quails; "Eat the good things which We have provided for you." They did not wrong Us, but themselves were they wronging.

161. (Recall) when it was said to them: "Inhabit this town, and eat from wheresoever ye please of it, and say: 'ḥiṭṭa'[1] and enter the gate prostrating yourselves; We shall forgive you your sins; We shall increase those who do well."

162. But those of them who did wrong substituted a different word for that which had been said to them, so We sent upon them wrath from the heaven, for the wrong they were doing.

163a. Ask them about the town close on the sea
163c. whose fish came to them on the day of their sabbath right to the shore,[2] but on the day when they did not keep sabbath, they did not come to them;
163b. when they transgressed in the matter of the sabbath.

166a. So when they disdained the prohibition laid upon them, We said to them: "Be ye apes[3] slinking away."

163d. Thus do We afflict them for the impiety they have been committing.

164. When a community of them said: "Why do ye admonish a people whom Allah is going to destroy or punish with a violent punishment?" they said: "As an excuse to your Lord; mayhap they will show piety."

165. So when they forgot the reminder given them, We rescued those who restrained from evil, and took hold of those who did wrong with a distressing punishment for the impiety they had been committing.

[1] Cf. ii. 55; the context of which may be compared with this whole passage.
[2] Uncertain; some explain the word as meaning "on the surface."
[3] With 163ac cf. *Marco Polo*, tr. Yule p. 52. The locality of the legend suggests that the Kurds may have been associated with *qird*=ape.

166b. (Recall) when thy Lord proclaimed (that) He would surely raise up against them until the Resurrection-Day those who would impose upon them the worst of punishment; verily thy Lord is quick to punish, and verily He is forgiving, compassionate.

167. And We cut them up into communities in the land, some of them upright and some of them (falling) short of that, and We tried them with good and evil things, mayhap they might return.

168. And there came after them a posterity who inherited the Book. who take the chance gain of this nearer (world) and say: "It will be forgiven us," and if there come to them the like chance (again) they will take it; hath there not been laid upon them the covenant of the Book, that they should not say about Allah anything but the truth[1] and they have studied what is in it? though the dwelling of the Hereafter is better for those who show piety; will they not then understand?

Covenant of Mankind; early Medinan (?).

171. (Recall), when thy Lord took from the children of Adam, from their loins,[2] their posterity and made them testify as to themselves: "Am not I your Lord?", and they said: "Yea, we testify"—lest ye should say on the day of resurrection: "Of this we have been neglectful";

172. Or should say: "It was our fathers aforetime who associated (others with Allah) and we were a posterity after them; wilt Thou then destroy us for what the workers of vanity did?"

169. Those who take fast hold of the Book and have established the Prayer—We allow not to go to waste the reward of those who act uprightly.

170. (Recall) when We shook the mountain over them as if it were a canopy and they thought that it

[1] This clause is probably a still later insertion.

[2] Lit. "backs." The idea of a covenant between God and man was common in Christianity.

173. Thus do We make the signs distinct, mayhap they will return.[1]

was going to fall with them: "Take hold of what We have brought you[2] with power and remember what is in it, mayhap ye will show piety."

Connection doubtful.

177. He whom Allah guideth is the (rightly) guided, and whom He sendeth astray—they are the Losers.

Detached; early Medinan (?)

178. We have created for Gehenna many of the jinn and of mankind; hearts have they but they understand not with them; eyes have they but they see not with them; ears have they but they hear not with them; they are like the cattle, nay, they are further astray; these are the neglectful.

Detached; Meccan (?).

179. To Allah belong the most beautiful names; so call upon Him by them, and pay no attention to those who make covert hints in regard to His names;

A messenger who failed.

174. Recite to them the story of him to whom We gave Our signs, but he slipped out of them and Satan followed him up, and he became one of the perverted.[3]

175. Had We so willed We should have exalted him thereby, but he clung to the earth and followed his desire; so he is to be compared to a dog, which, if one attacks it, lolls out its tongue, and if one leaves it alone, lolls out its tongue; that is what the people who have disbelieved Our signs are like; so tell them the story, mayhap they will take thought.

176. Liable to bad comparisons[4] are the people who have counted Our signs false, and

[1] This verse may possibly have been intended to follow 170 rather than 172.

[2] The Book.

[3] The reference is quite uncertain; Bd. suggests Umayya b. Abi ṣ-Ṣalt, others Balaam; it may be the story of the disobedient prophet, 1 Kings xiii., which lies behind the passage, or perhaps some Christian legend; cf. 1 Tim. i. 20, 2 Tim. iv. 10, Phil. iii. 2.

[4] Or "bad to be compared to."

they will be recompensed for what they have been doing.

who themselves have been wronging.

Detached ; date uncertain.

180. Among those whom We have created is a community guiding by the truth, and thereby acting fairly.[1]

Coming of the Last Day ; Meccan.

186. They ask thee about the Hour, when it comes to port ; say : " The knowledge of it is with my Lord only, no one will disclose it at its time but He ; it is of weighty import in the heavens and the earth ; it comes not to you otherwise than suddenly."

187. They ask thee as if thou wert familiar with it ; say : " The knowledge of it is with Allah only, but most of the people have no knowledge."

188. Say : " I have no power over benefit or hurt to myself except as Allah willeth ; if I had knowledge of the unseen, I should have acquired much good, and evil would not touch me ; I am only a warner, and a bringer of good tidings to a people who believe."

Medinan, referring to Jews (?) but perhaps based on a Meccan passage.

181. Those who have counted Our signs false We shall come stealthily upon from whence they do not know.

182. I shall treat them with forbearance ; verily My craft is strong.

183. Have they not reflected ? There is no madness in their friend, he is simply a warner clear.

184. Have they not looked at the realm of the heavens and the earth and at the amount of things which Allah hath created, and at the possibility that their term may have drawn near ? In what kind of discourse will they then thereafter believe ?

185. Whom Allah sendeth astray for him there is no guide, and He leaveth them in their arrogance blindly wandering.

Creation of man and origin of polytheism ; late Meccan or early Medinan ; perhaps somehow connected with 52–56.

189. He it is who created you from one person from whom He made his spouse that he might dwell with her ; then when he covered

[1] Or " wavering in regard to it " ; cf. v. 159.

her she bore a light burden and passed on with it; then when it became heavy they both called upon Allah their Lord: "If thou bestowest upon us an upright (son) we shall be of those who show gratitude."

190. Then when He bestowed upon them an upright (son), they set up partners to Him in what He had bestowed upon them. Exalted be Allah (far) from what they associate (with Him)!

191. Do they associate (with Him) things which create nothing but are themselves created, which are not capable of helping them, and (even) themselves they do not help?

192. If ye call them to the guidance they do not follow you; it is all one to you whether ye call them or keep silent.

Futility of sub-gods; possibly continuation of 189, 190, *with* 197 *added later.*

193. Verily those upon whom ye call apart from Allah are servants like yourselves; call upon them and let them answer you if ye speak the truth.

194. Have they feet with which they walk, or have they hands with which they grip, or have they eyes with which they see, or have they ears with which they hear? Say: "Call upon your associate-gods and then use craft against me; give me no respite.

195. Verily my patron is Allah who hath sent down the Book, and He acts as patron to the upright.

196. Those upon whom ye call apart from Him are incapable of helping you, and (even) themselves they do not help."

197. If ye call them to the guidance they do not hear, and one sees[1] them looking at one without seeing.

Private conduct of the Prophet under rejection; Meccan (?) revised by the addition of 200, 201.

198. Take (the line of) disregarding,[2] urge to good conduct and turn from the ignorant;

199. And if any incitement from Satan affect thee, seek refuge with Allah; verily He hears and knows.

200. Verily those who show piety, when a phantom from Satan touches them, recollect themselves,[3] and, lo, they see clearly.

[1] Or "thou seest," but the pronoun is probably used indefinitely.

[2] *I.e.* "pay no attention to insults." The meaning is uncertain; if the passage be Medinan, it may be "take what people can spare," cf. ii. 217.

[3] Or "remind themselves of Allah."

201. But their[1] brethren they lead further into perversity and then they do not stop short.

Demand for a sign ; Meccan (?), v. 203 perhaps early Medinan.

202. When thou bringest them not a sign,[2] they say : " Why hast thou not selected one ? " Say : " I simply follow what is suggested to me from my Lord ; this[3] is demonstrations from your Lord, and a guidance and a mercy to a people who believe."

203. So when the Qur'ān is recited, listen to it and keep silence, mayhap ye will obtain mercy.[4]

Prophet to practise private devotions ; Meccan.

204. Remember thy Lord within thyself in humility and fear, without publicly raising thy voice, in the mornings and the evenings, and be not of those who are negligent.

205. Verily those who are with thy Lord[5] are not too proud to serve Him, but they give glory to Him and to Him do obeisance.

[1] Usually taken to refer to the Satans.

[2] Here not a verse of the Qur'ān, but a " sign " such as was given to Moses and other prophets.

[3] Viz. the messages so suggested.

[4] The verse might form part of what is to be said ; but it is evidently addressed to believers, whereas what precedes answers an objection of opponents.

[5] *I.e.* the angels.

SURAH VIII

This surah, though usually regarded as having been composed shortly after Badr, cannot be a unity. Vv. 11–14, 25, 50, 54 have a different rhyme from that of the rest of the surah; and the different directions as to the disposal of the spoil in vv. 1 and 42 show that some interval must have elapsed. If we can accept Ṭabarī's statement (i. p. 1362) that the principle of the fifth of the spoil belonging to Allah was first applied in the case of the Banī Qainuqā', that interval would not be very long; but in view of Surah LIX., that may perhaps be questioned. It is impossible to unravel the composition with certainty. But v. 1, which claims the spoils for Allah, probably dates from shortly after the victory of Badr. Vv. 7, 8, 17, 43–46 support the claim of v. 1 by pointing out that the battle and the victory were due to Allah's disposition, and contrary to the natural inclinations of the Prophet's followers; they will therefore date from about the same time. Verse 15 f. looks like an exhortation to his followers immediately before the battle; vv. 18, 19 like an exultant defiance to the Meccans immediately after it. Verse 29, with its promise of the *furqān*, is almost certainly earlier than Badr, for in v. 42 the *furqān* is interpreted as having come on the day of Badr. Vv. 30–35 look like a philosophy of Allah's dealings with the Meccans; v. 35 would perhaps have reference to some special act of worship on the part of the Quraish after their defeat, but the verse is somewhat isolated, and if the original end of the passage were 55, 56, as is possible from the sense, the whole passage, apart from 35, might be earlier. Verse 36 was almost certainly occasioned by the news of the Quraish having set apart the value of the rescued caravan for the purpose of a punitive expedition against the Moslems. Vv. 37, 38 might go with this, but the connection is not very good; they would join equally well to 28, and may have stood on the back of 36. If so, they form the conclusion of an appeal for obedience which runs through this early part of the surah and may have been written on back of earlier passages. It begins with v. 2, which

may have been the continuation of v. 1, but more probably was written on the back of that verse which must have been discarded, and continues with vv. 3, 4, on the back of 5, 6, which are here out of connection. Vv. 9, 10 are usually taken as referring to the help of the angels at Badr, and might support the claim of v. 1. But it is curious that in vv. 43–46 which quite evidently refer to Allah's part in the battle of Badr, this is set on quite other grounds than the help of angels, while we have seen that Muhammad promised his followers such help at Uhud, and afterwards explained that away in words similar to those used in v. 10 (cf. iii., 122). In fact, the question may be raised whether vv. 2–4, 9, 10, 20–23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 37, 38 do not form the mild address which Muhammad delivered to his followers after Uhud (cf. iii. 153). Whether 39–42, with the regulation that a fifth of the spoil belongs to Allah, date from this time or are earlier is a little doubtful (*vide* above). On the whole, the reference to the *furqān* (42) makes it probable that that verse was composed not too long after Badr. The other verses also would be more appropriate when the Moslems were in the position of having lately won a victory, than after a defeat. The date of 47–49 is quite uncertain, as the admonition they contain would be appropriate at almost any time during the war with Mecca ; but if, as seems probable, they were written on the back of 51–54, they must be considerably later than Uhud. The passage 51–56 is very difficult. That it is not a unity is evident from the different rhyme of 54, and the similarity of 54 and 56. It is tempting to regard 55, 56 as a duplicate of 53, 54, but this does not explain the change of rhyme in 54, which also otherwise is rather isolated. It seems preferable to suppose that 54 was a stray verse (fairly early) required for the writing of 47–49, for which the passage 51–53 by itself is rather short. This latter must in its present form date from after Uhud, but 51 would be complete in itself, and the duplicate designation " Hypocrites " and " those in whose hearts is disease," suggests that the former is an insertion, and that 52, 53 have been added when the insertion was made. The somewhat accidental presence of 54 with its different rhyme would then explain the occurrence of the same rhyme in the addition to 47–49, viz. 50, and also its presence in other verses of the surah, which may have been inserted at the same time, 11–14, 25. Verse 11 is usually regarded as referring to rain which fell during the night before Badr, but if the above assumption be correct, the verse must be much later. The reference may be

to the storm of rain which completed the discomfiture of the Quraish and their allies at the Trench, so that 11–14 would deal with that event. Verse 25 would also quite appropriately refer to the *fitna* caused by the adherence of the Banī Quraiẓa to the allies. Verse 50, which also is usually made to refer to Badr, would quite well refer to the same event. That the surah does contain verses so late as the day of the Trench is made almost certain by the passage 57–64, with its reference to those who always break their covenant (*i.e.* the Quraiẓa), who are to be so dealt with as to terrify those behind them, and others with whom peace is to be made if they incline to it (*i.e.* the Quraish and their allies whom Muhammad tried to buy off by negotiation). The passage is wholly addressed to the prophet, except v. 62, which is addressed to the believers, and which we may suppose to be the order for the attack on the Quraiẓa, after the allies had drawn off. This is the first occasion on which we hear of the Moslems possessing horses (cf. I. Hisham, p. 693).

Vv. 65–72, on the back of which 57–64 have been written, contain a series of passages which date from shortly after Badr, but which have been revised in the interval. Whether vv. 5, 6 originally followed 65 is a little doubtful, but 67 is evidently a later modification of 66; whether 70 is a later addition to 68, 69, after permission to take spoil had been given, is doubtful. It is more probably a stray verse, the back of which was required along with 68, 69 for the the writing of 62, which must have been inserted after the rest of the preceding passage was composed. The close of the surah, 73–76, deal with relationships and originally constituted an equivalent of tribal relationship between the Muhājerīn and the Anṣār. At some later date, however, modifications have been introduced. The first form may belong to about the time of Badr, shortly after, or even earlier; the modifications are at any rate later than Uhud. Verse 73b denies to believers outside Medina any right to expect protection unless they emigrate, while reserving the right to assist them on religious grounds, provided no treaty stands in the way. The reference to compacts with tribes outside Medina implies a fairly late date. Verse 76 deals with the position of these later Muhājerīn, who have thus, on political grounds, been encouraged to join the Moslem community in Medina.

Sūrat al-Anfāl—Chapter of the Windfalls.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Spoil belongs to Allah and the messenger ; after Badr.

1. They ask thee about the windfalls ;[1] say : "The windfalls belong to Allah and the messenger ; so show piety towards Allah, and set right what is between you ;[2] obey Allah and His messenger, if ye be believers."

Many Believers unwilling to fight ; followed v. 65 (*?*).

5. As thy Lord caused thee to go forth from thy house by the truth though part of the believers were averse ;

6. Disputing with thee as to the truth after it had become clear, as if they were being driven forth to death with their eyes open.

What happened was by Allah's disposition ; after Badr, supporting the claim in v. 1.

7. (Recall) when Allah was promising you that one of the two parties[3] should be yours, and ye were wishing that the one without armed protection might be yours ; but Allah was intending to verify the truth in His words,

The true Believers ; some time later.

2. The believers are those whose hearts thrill with fear when Allah is mentioned, whose faith the recitation of His signs increases, and who on their Lord do rely ;

3. Who observe the Prayer, and of what We have provided them with do contribute.

4. These are the true believers ; for them is (in store) degrees in the presence of their Lord, forgiveness, and a worthy provision.

Help comes from Allah ; after Uhud (?).

9. (Recall) when ye were calling upon your Lord for help, and He responded to you : "I am going to reinforce you with a thousand of the angels as auxiliaries."

10. Allah meant that simply as good tidings, and that thereby

[1] "Things beyond what is due" ; the exact sense of the word is uncertain ; it is usually taken as referring to spoil in general.

[2] Or "act uprightly among yourselves."

[3] The Meccan caravan, and the armed force sent out to protect it.

and completely overthrow the unbelievers;
8. In order that He might verify the truth and falsify the false, even though the sinners were averse.

Believers not to give way in battle; before Badr (?).

15. O ye who have believed, when ye meet those who have disbelieved moving into battle turn them not your backs; 16. whosoever turns his back to them then, unless it be swerving to a fight or wriggling round to a company, has become liable to anger from Allah, and his resort is Gehenna—a bad destination!

Allah fought the battle; after Badr, in context of 7, 8.

17. Ye did not kill them but Allah killed them, and when thou didst throw,[1] it was not thou but Allah who threw, and (it was) that He might cause the believers to experience something good from Himself; verily Allah is one who hears and knows.

Defiance to the Meccans; after Badr.

18. There's for you! and (know) that Allah makes weak the craft of the unbelievers.

your hearts might be at peace; help comes only from Allah; verily Allah is sublime, wise.

Allah's help to the Believers; out of rhyme and probably later.

11. When He was causing langour to envelope you as a security from Himself, and sending down upon you water from the heaven[2] to purify you thereby and take away from you the pollution of Satan, and that He might gird up your hearts, and thereby set firm your feet.
12. When thy Lord was suggesting to the angels: "I am with you, so set firm those who have believed; I shall cast terror into the hearts of those who have disbelieved, so smite above the necks and smite of them every finger."
13. That is because they broke with Allah and His messenger; if one breaks with Allah and His messenger, verily Allah is severe in punishment.
14. "There's for you! so taste it and (know) that for the unbelievers is the punishment of the Fire."

[1] At a critical point in the battle of Badr Muhammad threw a handful of gravel towards the enemy.

[2] Rain is said to have fallen on the night before the battle of Badr, but if the passage be a later insertion the reference is doubtful.

19. If ye ask for an issue, the issue has come to you; if ye desist it will be better for you; if ye return, we shall return, and your company will not avail you, even though it be numerous; (know) that Allah is with the believers.

A promise to the Believers; before Badr.

29. O ye who have believed, if ye show piety towards Allah, He will appoint for you a furqān,[1] and will absolve you from your evil deeds, and forgive you; verily Allah is of mighty bounty.

Private reflections on the punishment of Mecca; perhaps occasioned by the Quraish wailing for the dead after Badr.

30. (Recall) when those who have disbelieved were plotting against thee, to bring thee to a stand, or kill thee, or expel thee; they were plotting and Allah was plotting, but Allah is the best of the plotters.

31. When Our signs were being recited to them, they said: "We have heard, if we liked we could say something as good as this; this is nothing but old-world tales."

32. (Recall) when they said: "O Allah, if this be the truth

An appeal for obedience; perhaps followed v. 10.

20. O ye who have believed, obey Allah and His messenger, and turn not away from Him even while ye hear.

21. Be not like those who said: "We have heard," though they were not hearing.

22. Verily the worst of beasts in Allah's eyes are the deaf and dumb who do not understand.

23. If Allah had known any good in them, He would have made them hear, but if He had made them hear, they would have turned away, averting themselves.

Continuation of the appeal; v. 25 a later insertion.

24. O ye who have believed, respond to Allah and to the messenger when he calls you to what will give you life;[2] know that Allah interposes between a man and his own heart, and that to Him will ye be rounded up.

25. And seek protection against

[1] Syriac *purqānā*="salvation," and here probably in that sense.

[2] Cf. ii. 175; here probably war against the Meccans is implied.

from Thee, rain upon us stones from the heaven, or come to us with a painful punishment.

33. But Allah was not one to punish them whilst thou wert amongst them, nor was Allah going to punish them while they were asking pardon.

34. But what is there about them now that Allah should not punish them when they are debarring (people) from the Sacred Mosque,[1] they not being its protectors; for it is only the pious who are its protectors, but most of them do not know.

35. Their prayer at the House[1] was nothing but whistling and clapping of hands; so "Taste the punishment for the unbelief ye have been showing."

Meccans preparing for an expedition; after Badr.

36. Those who have disbelieved are contributing their wealth in order to debar (people) from the way of Allah, and will go on doing so, but after a while it will be a grief[2] to them and then they will be overcome.

The victory was Allah's; soon after Badr, supporting the claim to spoil in v. 1.

43. (Recall) when ye were upon the nearer bank, and they upon a trial[3] which will not fall specially upon those of you who have done wrong; know that Allah is severe in punishment.

26. Remember when ye were few and downtrodden in the land, and feared that the people would forcibly carry you off, but He gave you refuge,[4] and supported you by His help,[5] and provided you with good things; mayhap ye might be thankful.

Continuation of the appeal.

27. O ye who have believed, do not be unfaithful to Allah and the messenger, and be not unfaithful to your trusts when ye know.

28. And know that your wealth and children are a temptation and that with Allah is a great reward.

37. But those who have disbelieved to Gehenna will be rounded up;

38. That Allah may distinguish the vile from the good, and place the vile one on top of the other and pile all up together and place it in Gehenna; they are the losers.

War with Mecca, and regulation as to the spoil; some time after Badr.

39. Say to those who have disbelieved: "If they desist, what

[1] The Ka'ba.

[2] Lit. "sighing."

[3] *Fitna*; the exact sense here is not certain, but evidently it is some danger threatening the whole community.

[4] In Medina.

[5] At Badr (?).

the farther, and the caravan below you; if ye had made an appointment (to fight) ye would have failed to keep it; but (the fight took place) that Allah might carry out an affair which was to be done, 44. and that those who perished might perish because of an Evidence (of Allah's intervention) and that those who remained alive might remain alive because of an Evidence; verily Allah is one who hears and knows.

45. (Recall) when Allah caused thee to see them in thy dream as few in number; if He had caused thee to see them as numerous ye would have been fainthearted and vied with each other in withdrawing from the affair, but Allah kept (you) sound (in heart), He knoweth what is in the breasts.

46. (Recall) when He caused you to see them when ye met as few in your eyes, and made you few in their eyes, that Allah might carry out an affair that was to be done; for to Allah are made to return (all) affairs.

Confidence in Allah justified; after Badr, revised later.

51. (Recall) when the Hypocrites[1] and those in whose is past will be forgiven them, but if they return, what invariably happened to those of olden time is seen in the past."[2]

40. Fight them until there is no dissension[3] and the religion is entirely Allah's; if they desist, Allah of what they do is observant.

41. But if they turn away, then know that Allah is your patron. Excellent patron! excellent helper!

42. And know that if ye take anything as spoil—that to Allah belongs a fifth of it, and to the messenger and to the relatives, the orphans, the poor, and the follower of the way, if ye have believed in Allah, and what We sent down to Our servant on the day of the furqān,[4] the day the two parties met; Allah over everything hath power.

Believers to be steady in battle; date uncertain, probably later than Uhud.

47. O ye who have believed, when ye meet a (hostile) party,

[1] The reference to the Hypocrites is probably later.

[2] Lit. " the custom of the ancients has passed."

[3] *Fitna*; possibly here in the sense of " persecution."

[4] See note on v. 29 above; the " salvation " is here regarded as having come on the day of Badr.

hearts is disease were saying: "Their religion has deluded these people"; but if one sets his trust upon Allah—Allah is sublime, wise.

52. Could one only see when the angels are calling in [1] those who have disbelieved, beating them before and behind, and (saying) "Taste the punishment of the burning.

53. That is because of what your hands have sent on before, and because Allah is not a wrong-doer to His servants."

54. After the fashion of the family of Pharaoh and those before them, they disbelieved in the signs of Allah, and Allah took hold of them for their sins; verily Allah is strong, severe in punishment.

Change in Allah's favour due to change of character; original end of 30–34 (*?*).

55. That is because Allah is not one to alter good which He hath bestowed upon a people until they alter what is in themselves, and because Allah is one who hears and knows.

56. After the fashion of the family of Pharaoh and those before them; they counted false the signs of their Lord and We

stand firm, and call Allah frequently to mind, mayhap ye will succeed.

48. Obey Allah and His messenger, and vie not with each other in withdrawing so that ye become fainthearted and your reputation go; but endure patiently, verily Allah is with those who patiently endure.

49. And be not like those who went out from their houses in conceit and ostentation to turn (others) from the way of Allah, but Allah what they do doth comprehend.

Addition to 47–49; *date uncertain; after the Trench* (*?*).

50. (Recall) when Satan made their actions appear fine to them, and said: "There is no one among the people to prevail over you to-day, for I am your neighbour"; [2] but when the two parties faced each other, he took to his heels, and said: "I am done with you; I see what ye do not see; I fear Allah, for

[1] At death.

[2] Therefore responsible for their protection.

destroyed them for their sins and We drowned the family of Pharaoh; every one, they were doing wrong.

Prophet to rely upon Allah; after Badr.

65. O thou prophet, what thou hast to count upon is Allah and those who follow thee of the believers.

Prophet to encourage Believers to fight; after Badr, 67 later.

66. O thou prophet, stir up the believers to fight: "If there be twenty of you who endure, they will overcome two hundred, and if there be a hundred of you, they will overcome a thousand of those who have disbelieved, because they are a people of no intelligence."

67. Now Allah hath made it lighter for you and knoweth that there is weakness among you; so "If there be a hundred of you who endure, they will overcome two hundred, and if there be a thousand of you, they will overcome two thousand, by the permission of Allah; Allah is with those who endure."

Prisoners taken at Badr a difficulty; v. 70 later, or unconnected.

68. It was not for a prophet to have prisoners so as to cause havoc[1] in the land; ye intend Allah is severe in punishment."

Perfidy of some with whom an agreement has been made; the Banī Quraiẓa (?); 57 earlier (?).

57. Verily the worst of beasts in Allah's eyes are those who have disbelieved and who do not believe;

58. Those of them with whom thou has covenanted, and who then violate their covenant every time, showing no piety.

59. So if thou comest upon them at all in war, then by their fate scatter in fright those who are behind them, mayhap they will take warning.

60. If thou fearest treachery at all from any people cast back to them (thy covenant) equally; verily Allah loveth not the treacherous.

61. Think not that those who have disbelieved have stolen a march (on thee); verily they will not frustrate (thy plan).

Addition when above was published.

62. Prepare (ye) for them whatsoever force and cavalry ye are capable of (gathering) to over-

[1] Lit. "to become heavy"; perhaps "become languid," but the usual interpretation is as above.

the chance gains of this world but Allah intends the Hereafter ; Allah is sublime, wise.

69. Had it not been for a book [1] from Allah which preceded, there would have come upon you in regard to what ye have taken a mighty punishment.

70. So eat of the spoil ye have taken as permissible and good, and show piety towards Allah ; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Prisoners to be allowed to be ransomed and to return to Mecca.

71. O thou prophet, say to the prisoners who are in your hands : " If Allah knoweth any good in your hearts, He will give you something better than what has been taken from you and will forgive you ; Allah is forgiving, compassionate."

72. If they intend to deal treacherously with thee—well, they have dealt treacherously with Allah before, and He hath shown that it was possible to deal with them ; Allah is knowing, wise.

awe thereby the enemy of Allah and your own, as well as others besides them whom ye know not but whom Allah knows ; whatever ye contribute in the cause of Allah will be repaid in full, and ye will not be wronged.

Continuation of 57–61.

63. If they incline to make peace, incline thou to it, and set thy trust upon Allah ; verily He is the Hearer, the Knower.

64. If they intend to outwit thee, then what thou hast to count upon is Allah, who hath aided thee by His help, and by the believers, and hath knit their hearts together—if thou hadst expended all that is in the earth thou wouldst not have knit their hearts together, but Allah hath knit them ; verily He is sublime, wise.

Ties of relationship with Unbelievers to be cut ; probably between Badr and Uhud, 73b later.

73a. Those who have believed and emigrated [2] and striven with goods and person in the cause of Allah, and those who

[1] Or " a writing " ; perhaps = a decree.

[2] That is those who have left their homes in Mecca (or elsewhere) and joined the Moslem community in Medina.

have afforded shelter and help,[1] are friends[2] one to the other;

74. And those who have disbelieved are friends one to the other; unless ye do this there will be dissension in the land and great corruption.

73b. but towards those who have believed and have not emigrated ye have no duties of relationship whatever until they emigrate;[3] if, however, they ask your help in the matter of religion, it is your duty to help them, unless it be against a people with whom ye have a compact; Allah of what ye do is observant.

Blood relationship closer than that of the later Muhājerīn to the Anṣār; 75 possibly of the same date as 73a, 74; 76 certainly later and perhaps of same date as 73b.

75. Those who have believed and emigrated and striven with goods and person in the cause of Allah, and those who have afforded shelter and help, are the true believers; for them is (in store) forgiveness and a worthy provision.

76. But those who have believed afterwards and have emigrated and striven along with you, belong indeed to your (community), but those who are related in blood are nearer to each other in the Book of Allah; verily Allah everything doth know.

[1] *I.e.* the Anṣār in Medina,

[2] Here probably in the sense of next-of-kin upon whom rests the duty of blood revenge; cf. *Constitution of Medina*, I. Hisham, p. 342.

[3] This is designed to encourage emigration and so strengthen the Moslems in Medina.

SURAH IX

This is a chapter of war-proclamations, and contains passages from several different dates. The absence of the Bismillah is probably due to the fact that it begins with a heading announcing that what follows is a proclamation in the name of Allah. As is evident from vv. 1 and 3a, two documents are here interwoven. The first is probably the denunciation of the treaty of Hudaibiya, and consists of vv. 1, 4, 7a, 8, and possibly also 13–15, 17, 18. These latter passages are in any case connected with the renewal of the war with Mecca, the former exhorting the Moslems to fight, the latter laying down what was probably one of the objects of the war, viz. to get possession of the Ka'ba and the Holy Places. With this has been combined a proclamation intended to be made at the pilgrimage, which must, therefore, date from after the conquest of Mecca. The pilgrimage intended was probably that of the year VIII., which fell a few months after that event. This proclamation consists of vv. 1, 3a, 4 (?), 7a, 7b, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19–22 (?), 25–28. The inclusion of some of these verses is a little doubtful. The passage 19–22 was certainly not originally composed for this purpose, but seems rather designed to allay the disappointment of Medinan followers at finding that after all the management of the Holy Places remained in the hands of the Meccans who now professed Islam. Verse 28 which forbids polytheists to come to the Ka'ba formed probably the point and conclusion of the proclamation. These documents have been partly written on the back of discarded verses which now also stand intermingled with them.[1] Vv. 29–35 form in effect a proclamation of war against Jews and Christians, and probably belong to the year IX. when an expedition was designed for the North which would involve war with Christians and possibly also with Jews. The passage might, however, be earlier. The opening verse, in fact, hardly seems to have been originally meant to apply to "the People of the Book," and it is just possible that v. 33 was the original end of 29, for which the present 29b, 30–32 have been substituted. The regulation of the calendar in vv. 36, 37 is usually placed very

[1] For a further discussion of this, cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1937, pp. 233ff.

late, but it is improbable that Muhammad would carry on war with the Meccans for long and at the same time continue to recognise their fixing of the sacred months. The passage, in fact, originally consisted of 36a, 2, 5, and belonged to the early days of the war with Mecca; 2 and 5 were discarded and 36b, 37 substituted at some later time which cannot be determined. The following passage, which originally consisted of vv. 38, 129, 40, also belonged to the first years of the war with Mecca; the substitution of v. 39 may have been made at the same time as the alteration of the preceding passage. The peremptory tone of v. 41 marks it as still later, and it may have been added when the following verses were composed. These, vv. 42–48, clearly have reference to the expedition to the North, year IX.; so also v. 49. Vv. 53, 54 belong also probably to this time; but 50–52 and 55–64 seem to be taken from an earlier discourse against the Hypocrites, and to have been revised for use at this time. This is confirmed by the occurrence of what is evidently a discourse against the Hypocrites in vv. 65–69, 74–81, into which 72, 73 have later been inserted (on the back of 70, 71) by way of balance. Verse 75 tempts one to associate this discourse with the covert threat to expel Muhammad said to have been uttered during the expedition against the Banī Muṣṭaliq in the year VI. But the use of the words *sūrah* and *an-nabīy*, and the punctilious distinction of "male and female" seem to belong to an earlier time, and v. 66 seems rather to refer to some gibe against the revelations. It may be that some still earlier scraps have been utilised; v. 74 seems to have dealt originally with the unbelievers, and to have been adapted, for otherwise there is no reason why they should be mentioned here. Vv. 82–86 deal with some who have failed to join in an important expedition. This is said to have been the expedition to the North (Tabūk), but v. 84 taken in conjunction with xlviii. 15 suggest that it was the expedition to Hudaibiya, in which also many failed to take part. Possibly the passage was repeated on the second occasion (with the substitution of the present end of 82 for 83 the original ending ?). Vv. 85, 86 may belong to this later time. Vv. 82–84 were written on the back of 87–91, a passage which was originally early, but was revised by the omission of 88, 89 and the insertion of 87b, 91. Vv. 85, 86 correspond to 92–94, of which 93 has been inserted later. The difficulty of finding mounts for willing warriors was more likely to be felt at the time of Hudaibiya than after the conquest of Mecca and the victory of Ḥunain. Vv. 95–97 are

alternatives corresponding to the three strands in 82–91. Vv. 98 f. probably belong to about the same time as 91, but have been later modified by the addition of 100, 104–106, written on the back of 101 (which is quite out of connection), and 102–107. This modification must be pretty late if 107 stood in its present position when it was made, for while 102, 103 may belong to the same time as 98, 99, the probability is that 107 was added when that passage was repeated after the return from Tabūk. To this time belongs also vv. 108–109, which probably, though not quite certainly, stood on the back of two extraneous, early Medinan passages, 112, 113 (which probably themselves show revision), and 114–117. After a time, those referred to in v. 107 were forgiven, this being announced in a modification of an early Medinan passage 118, 119. Verse 120, which is out of connection, was needed to give space for part of 119. The latest parts of the surah, vv. 121, 122, and 123 were written on the back of much earlier passages, which probably belong to the time when Muhammad was engaged in persuading his followers to fight.

Sūrat at-Tauba (or Sūrat al-Barā'a)— Chapter of Repentance (or Chapter of the Renunciation).

Renunciation of the Treaty of Hudaibiya, revised as a Proclamation to be made at the Pilgrimage following the conquest of Mecca.

1. Renunciation by Allah and His messenger of the polytheists with whom ye have made covenants;

Additional heading for the Proclamation.

3a. And a proclamation from Allah and His messenger to the people on the day of the greatest pilgrimage,[1] that Allah renounces the polytheists, (as does) also His messenger.

Originally followed v. 36a.

2. So go about in the land four months and know that ye cannot frustrate Allah and that Allah is the humiliator of the unbelievers.

Detached; context uncertain.

3b. So if ye repent it is better for you, but if ye turn away, know that ye cannot frustrate Allah; announce (thou) to those who have disbelieved a painful punishment.

[1] By the change of a vowel it is possible to translate, "the greatest day of he pilgrimage."

Followed v. 2.

5. Then when the sacred months have slipped away, slay the polytheists wherever ye find them, seize them, beset them, lie in ambush for them everywhere; if they repent and establish the Prayer and pay the Zakāt, then set them free; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Followed v. 1.

4. Except those polytheists with whom ye have made a covenant and who then have not failed you in anything, or backed anyone up against you; fulfil their covenant up to (the end of) its period; Allah loveth those who show piety.

7a. How shall the polytheists have a covenant with Allah and with His messenger?

C. same time as vv. 2, 5.

6. If one of the polytheists asks thy protection, grant him protection until he hear the word of Allah, then see that he reaches a place of security; that is because they are a people who have no knowledge.

Added in the Proclamation.

7b. except those with whom ye have made covenants at the Sacred Mosque;[1] as long as they act straight with you, act straight with them; verily Allah loveth those who show piety.

Detached; refers to Jews (?).

9. They have sold the signs of Allah for a small price, and have turned (people) away from the way of Allah; evil is what they have been doing.

10. In respect of a believer they will not regard bond or agreement; they are the ill-disposed.

Omitted in the Proclamation.

8. How? If they get the upper hand of you they will not regard bond or agreement; they will satisfy you with their mouths, but their hearts will refuse; the most of them are reprobates.

Detached; reference uncertain.

11. So if they repent and establish the Prayer and pay the Zakāt, they are your brothers in religion—We make the signs distinct for a people who have knowledge.

Joined to 7b in the Proclamation.

12. But if they violate their oaths after they have made a covenant and attack your religion, fight the leaders of unbelief; no oath will hold in their case; mayhap they will refrain.

[1] *I.e.* the Ka'ba, which must have been in the hands of the Moslems.

Exhortation to resume the war with Mecca ; may have been included in the Proclamation as impressing the duty of fighting on new converts, v. 13 *being then omitted, and v.* 16 *added.*

13. Will ye not fight against a people who have violated their oaths, and had it in mind to expel the messenger, and who took the initiative with you the first time ? Are ye afraid of them ? It is more in order that ye should be afraid of Allah, if ye be believers.
14. Fight them and Allah will punish them at your hands, will humiliate them and aid you against them, and will bring healing to the breasts of a people who are believers, 15. and will take away the anger of their hearts ; Allah relenteth towards whomsoever He willeth ; Allah is knowing, wise.
16. Or did ye reckon that ye would be left (at peace) when Allah did not yet know those of you who have striven and have not chosen any ally outside Allah and His messenger and the believers ? Allah is well-aware of what ye do.

Object of the renewed war with Mecca ; the sacred places must be in the hands of Moslems ; inclusion in the Proclamation doubtful.

17. It is not for the polytheists to manage [1] Allah's places of worship, giving evidence of unbelief against themselves ; the works of such are of no avail, and in the Fire they abide.
18. They only shall manage [1] Allah's places of worship who have believed in Allah and the Last Day, have established the Prayer and paid the Zakāt, and have feared nothing but Allah ; possibly such will be among those who are rightly guided.

Answer to murmurs of his followers at the management of the Ka'ba being left in the hands of the Quraish (?) ; possibly included in the Proclamation as an exhortation to the Meccans.

19. Do ye liken the giving of water to the pilgrimage, and the management [1] of the Sacred Mosque to (the conduct) of him

Islam overrides relationships ; in prospect of renewed war (?).

23. O ye who have believed, do not choose your fathers and your brethren as friends, if they prefer unbelief to belief ; those

[1] Or " visit," " visitation " ; this is the usual meaning of the word, but in this passage it seems to imply more than the performance of the *'umra*.

of you who make friends of them—they are the wrong-doers.

A stronger version of the above; probably about the same date.

24. Say: "If your fathers and your sons and your brethren and your wives and your clan, and properties which ye have acquired, and trade which ye fear may grow slack, and dwellings which please you are dearer to you than Allah and His messenger and striving in His cause, then wait until Allah cometh with His affair; Allah guideth not the people who are reprobates."

who has believed in Allah and the Last Day, and has striven in the cause of Allah? They are not alike in Allah's estimation; Allah guideth not the wrong-doing people.

20. Those who have believed and emigrated and striven with goods and person in the cause of Allah are of higher rank in Allah's estimation; they are the blessed.

21. Their Lord giveth them good tidings of mercy and goodwill from Himself, and Gardens for them in which is enduring delight; 22. in which they will abide for ever; verily with Allah is mighty reward.

Encouragement to fight, Allah's help at the battle of Ḥunain; belongs to the Proclamation.

25. Allah hath already helped you on many fields, and on the day of Ḥunain when ye prided yourselves on your numbers but they did not benefit you at all, and the land, wide as it was, became too narrow for you and then ye turned away in retreat.

26. Then Allah sent down His assurance upon His messenger and the believers, and sent down hosts which ye did not see, and punished those who disbelieved—that is the recompence of the unbelievers;

27. Then after that, Allah relenteth towards whomsoever He willeth; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Polytheists to be debarred from the Ka'ba; end of the Proclamation.

28. O ye who have believed, the polytheists are simply filth, so after this present year they shall not approach the Sacred Mosque; if ye fear poverty,[1] Allah will in the end enrich you from His bounty if He willeth; Allah is knowing, wise.

[1] Mecca depended to a considerable extent on revenue from the pilgrims.

People of the Book to be subdued ; in preparation for the Expedition to the North, year IX.

29. Fight against those who do not believe in Allah nor in the Last Day, and do not make forbidden what Allah and His messenger have made forbidden, and do not practice the religion of truth, of those who have been given the Book,[1] until they pay the jizya [2] off-hand,[3] being subdued.
30. The Jews say that 'Uzair [4] is the son of Allah, and the Christians say that the Messiah is the son of Allah ; that is what they say with their mouths, conforming to what was formerly said by those who disbelieved ; Allah fight them ! How they are involved in lies !
31. They take their scholars and their monks as Lords apart from Allah, as well as the Messiah, son of Mary, though they were only commanded to serve one God, besides Whom there is no other god ; glory be to Him above whatever they associate (with Him) !
32. They would fain extinguish the light of Allah with their mouths, but Allah refuseth to do otherwise than perfect His light, though averse are the unbelievers.
33. He it is who hath sent His messenger with the guidance and the religion of truth, in order that he may set it above all (other) religion, though averse are the polytheists.
34. O ye who have believed, many of the scholars and monks consume the wealth of the people in vanity, and turn (others) aside from the way of Allah ; those who treasure up gold and silver and do not expend them in the way of Allah—to them give (thou) tidings of a painful punishment.
35. On the day when they [5] will be made hot in the fire of Gehenna and their foreheads and their sides and their backs will be branded with them : " This is what ye treasured up for yourselves, so taste what ye have been treasuring up."

[1] The position of this phrase suggests that it may have been interpolated, or that the verse, originally earlier, has been added to at the end.

[2] Tribute ; later a distinction was drawn between *jizya* (poll-tax), and *kharāj* (land-tax).

[3] The exact meaning of the phrase is uncertain.

[4] Ezra.

[5] *I.e.* their treasures.

War with the Polytheists and the Sacred Months; early Medinan, revised later.

36. Twelve is the number of the months with Allah, (written) in Allah's Book on the day when He created the heavens and the earth; of these, four are sacred; that is the eternal religion;[1]
so do not wrong each other in them; but fight the polytheists continuously, as they fight you continuously, and know that Allah is with those who act piously.

37. The postponement[2] is simply an increase of unbelief in which those who have disbelieved go astray; they make it free one year and make it sacred another, that they may make the number of what Allah hath made sacred, adaptable, and make free what Allah hath made sacred; the evil of their actions appears good to them, but Allah guideth not the unbelieving people.

Aversion of the Believers to War; early Medinan, revised later.

38. O ye who have believed, what is the matter with you? When one says to you: "March out in the way of Allah," ye are weighed down to the ground; are ye so satisfied with this nearer life as to neglect the Hereafter? The enjoyment of this nearer life is in comparison with the Hereafter only a little thing.

Verse 129 *originally here.*

40. If ye do not aid him, Allah hath already aided him, when those who have disbelieved expelled him with only one companion;[3] the two of them were in the cave, and he was saying to his companion: "Grieve not, verily Allah is with us"; so Allah sent down His assurance upon him and supported him with hosts whom ye did not see, and made the word of those who

39. If ye do not march out He will inflict upon you a painful punishment, and will substitute (for you) another people; ye will not injure Him at all; Allah over everything hath power.

Probably added before the expedition to the North.

41. March out light or heavy (hearted), and strive with goods

[1] Or "right religion"; this was originally followed by vv. 2 and 5.

[2] To keep the months in accord with the seasons, a month was intercalated occasionally. When this should be done was decided at Mecca.

[3] Lit. "second of two." The companion was Abū Bakr.

have disbelieved the lowest, while the word of Allah is the highest; Allah is sublime, wise.

and person in the way of Allah; that will be better for you, if ye have any knowledge.

Interviews with unwilling warriors; probably originally private, during preparations for the expedition to the North.

42. If it were some gain near at hand and a moderate [1] journey, they would follow thee, but the distance is too great for them; they will swear by Allah: "If we were able, we should go out with you," destroying themselves; Allah knoweth they are lying.
43. Allah forgive thee! why didst thou admit them until it was clear to thee who spoke truly, and thou didst know who were the ones who were lying?
44. Those who believe in Allah and the Last Day do not ask thee for admission that they may strive with goods and person; Allah knoweth those who show piety.
45. Those who ask thee for admission are just those who do not believe in Allah and the Last day, whose hearts have become doubtful, and they in their doubt are running back and forward.
46. If they intended to go forth they would make some preparation for it; but Allah is averse to their being stirred up and hath made them laggards; the word has passed: "Stay at home with the stay-at-homes."
47. If they were to go forth with you, they would add to you nothing but unsoundness; they would emphasise the rifts among you [2] desiring to bring sedition upon you, and amongst you are some accustomed to listen to them; Allah knoweth the wrong-doers.
48. They were desirous of sedition before this and turned things upside down for thee, until the truth came and the affair of Allah gained the upper hand in spite of them.

Perhaps slightly later.

49. Some of them say: "Admit me and do not tempt me"; [3] have they not fallen into sedition? Verily Gehenna encompasseth the unbelievers.

[1] Or "aiming at a definite object."

[2] Or, as usually interpreted, "they would run about in the midst of you."

[3] To sedition, by refusing to see them, as Muhammad has apparently begun to do.

Probably a passage from an earlier date, now repeated with the addition of 52, *or its substitution for* 51.

50. If something good befalls thee, it annoys them, and if misfortune befalls thee, they say: "We kept good hold of our affair before," and they turn away rejoicing.
51. Say: "There will nothing befall us but what Allah hath written down for us; He is our patron and in Allah let the believers put their trust."

52. Say: "Do ye wait for anything in our case but one of the two goods?[1] while in your case we wait for Allah afflicting you with punishment, either from Himself or at our hands; so wait, we too are with you waiting."

Their contributions not acceptable to Allah.

53. Say: "Contribute willingly or unwillingly, it will not be accepted from you; verily ye are a people of reprobates."
54. What prevents their contributions being accepted is nothing but the fact that they have disbelieved in Allah and in His messenger and come but lazily to the Prayer, and contribute not but with aversion.

Of earlier date, or based on an earlier passage.

55. Let not therefore either their wealth or their children excite thy admiration; Allah intends simply to punish them thereby in this nearer life, and that they themselves should pass away while they are unbelievers.
56. They swear by Allah that they are of your party, but they are not of your party; they are a people who are afraid.
57. If they were to find a place of refuge, or holes to sink into or a place to creep into, they would turn aside to it and bolt.

Division of the Ṣadaqāt; possibly of earlier date, now revised with addition of v. 60 (*?*).

58. Some of them point the finger at thee in the matter of the ṣadaqāt;[2] if they are given a share of them they are pleased, if they are not given a share of them they are angry.

[1] Victory or death leading to future reward.
[2] The voluntary contributions of the community.

59. If they had been pleased with what Allah and His messenger[1] gave them and had said: "What we reckon on is Allah; Allah and His messenger[1] will give us of His bounty; our desire is towards Allah," . . .
60. The ṣadaqāt are for the poor and the destitute, for the agents employed therein, for those whose hearts are to be won over, for (the ransom of) slaves, for (the relief of) debtors, for expenditure in the way of Allah, and for the follower of the way—an ordinance from Allah; Allah is knowing, wise.

Prophet accused of spying; earlier, doubtful if now repeated.

61. Some of them insult the prophet and say: "He is (all) ears." Say: "Good ears for you;—he believes in Allah and gives credence to the believers—
62. And a mercy for those of you who have believed; but for those who insult the messenger of Allah (is in store) a painful punishment."

Their protestations of no avail.

63. They swear to you by Allah in order that they may satisfy you, but it is more in order that they should satisfy Allah and His messenger if they are believers.
64. Do they not know that for him who obstructs Allah and His messenger is the fire of Gehenna to abide in; that is the mighty humiliation.

Discourse against the Hypocrites.
After Uhud, but exact date uncertain.

65. The Hypocrites are apprehensive lest a surah be sent down against them telling them what is in their hearts; say: "Mock! verily Allah will bring out what ye are apprehensive about."
66. If thou questionest them they will no doubt say: "We were only plunging about (in conversation) and playing"; say: "At Allah and His signs and His messenger were ye mocking?
67. Make no excuses; ye have disbelieved after having believed; if

[1] The unusual position of the phrase in the second occurrence probably indicates that it has been inserted at the revision.

one part of you be pardoned, another part will be punished, for their having been sinners."

68. The Hypocrites, male and female, are all of a piece; they urge to what is disreputable and restrain from what is reputable, and keep their hands tight shut;[1] they have forgotten Allah, so He has forgotten them; verily the Hypocrites are reprobates.

69. Allah hath promised the Hypocrites, male and female, and the unbelievers, the fire of Gehenna in which to abide; it is what they have to reckon on; Allah hath cursed them and for them is (in store) a punishment enduring.

Meccans (?) have earned Allah's disfavour; early Medinan.

70. Like those before you who were superior to you in strength and more abundant in wealth and children and who sought the enjoyment of their portion, ye have sought the enjoyment of your portion as those before you sought the enjoyment of theirs, and plunged about (in talk) as they plunged about; of these people the works have gone for nothing in this world and the Hereafter; they are the losers.

Examples in former times; Meccan (?).

71. Has there not come to them the report of those before them, the people of Noah, and ʿĀd and Thamūd, and the people of Abraham, and those of Midian, and the overwhelmed (cities), whose messengers came to them with the Evidences? Allah was not one to wrong them, but themselves they were wronging.

Merits of the Believers; a later insertion.

72. The believers, male and female, are friends one of the other, they urge to what is reputable, and restrain from what is disreputable, and observe the Prayer, and pay the Zakāt, and obey Allah and His messenger; with them Allah will deal mercifully; Allah is sublime, wise.

73. Allah hath promised the believers, male and female, Gardens through which the rivers flow in which to abide, and good dwellings in the Gardens of Eden, though goodwill from Allah is greater; that is the mighty success.

[1] *I.e.* they refuse to contribute to the cause.

Continuation of the discourse ; v. 74 perhaps adapted from an earlier verse.

74. O thou prophet, strive with the unbelievers and the Hypocrites, and be rough with them ; their resort is Gehenna—a bad destination.
75. They swear by Allah that they did not say (it), but they did say the word of unbelief, and have disbelieved after having become Moslems, and had in mind what they did not attain to ; nor had they anything to take revenge for but that Allah and His messenger had enriched them of His bounty ; so if they repent it will be better for them ; but if they turn away, Allah will punish them with a painful punishment in this world and the Hereafter ; they have not in the land a friend or a helper.

Their niggardliness.

76. Some of them make a covenant with Allah : " If He giveth us of His bounty, we will certainly give ṣadaqa,[1] and will be of those who are upright."
77. Then when He hath given them of His bounty, they become niggardly with it and turn away, averting themselves.
78. So in consequence He hath set hypocrisy in their hearts until the day when they meet Him for their having kept back from Allah what they had promised Him and for the lies they have been telling.
79. Have they not learned that Allah knoweth their secret and their private talk, and that Allah is the One who knoweth hidden things?

They jeer at poor Moslems.

80. Those who point the finger at those of the believers who are forward to obey in the matter of the ṣadaqāt,[1] and at those who find nothing to give but their effort, and jeer at them—at them Allah jeereth, and for them is (in store) a painful punishment.
81. Ask pardon for them or ask it not ; if thou ask pardon for them seventy times, Allah will not pardon them ; that (is their doom) for having disbelieved in Allah and His messenger ; Allah guideth not the people who are reprobates.

[1] Voluntary contributions.

Reluctance to fight; originally fairly early; revised form before the expedition to Hudaibiya.

87. When a surah is sent down (containing the command): "Believe in Allah, and strive in company with His messenger,"

88. they are content that they should be with those who stay behind, and a seal is set upon their hearts, so that they do not use their intelligence.

89. But the messenger and those who have believed with him have striven with goods and person and the good things are for them; they are the ones who succeed.

90. Allah hath prepared for them Gardens through which the rivers flow in which to abide; that is the mighty bliss.

the possessors of long purses among them ask an interview with thee, and say: "Let us be with those who sit still."

91. And the apologists of the Bedouin come (asking) to be admitted; and those who lie to Allah and His messenger, sit still; one day there will come upon those of them who have disbelieved a painful punishment.

Treatment of those who stayed behind; during expedition to Hudaibiya, or that to Tabūk.

82. Those who have been left behind rejoiced at their sitting still behind the messenger of Allah, and have refused to strive with goods and person in the way of Allah; they said: "Do not march out in the heat"; say: "The fire of Gehenna will be hotter still, if they would use their intelligence."

83. Let them laugh a little and weep a lot — a recompence for what they have been piling up.[1]

84. So if Allah bring thee back to a party of them, and they ask permission of thee to go forth, say: "Ye shall never go forth with me, nor ever fight any enemy with me; ye were content to sit still the first time, so sit still with those who stay behind."

[1] The shortness of this verse suggests that it was the original end of 82, for which the present end has been substituted.

Exemptions; before Hudaibiya, v. 93 possibly an afterthought.

92. No blame rests upon the frail or upon the sick or upon those who find nothing to contribute, if they are honest to Allah and His messenger; against those who do well there is no opening;[1] Allah is forgiving, compassionate;

93. Nor against those to whom when they came to thee that thou mightest mount them, thou saidst: "I cannot find an animal to mount thee upon"; they turned away, their eyes full of tears for grief that they found not anything to contribute.

94. There is an opening against those only who, being rich, ask interviews with thee; they have been content to be with those who stay behind, and Allah hath set a seal upon their hearts, so that they do not use their intelligence.

Possibly added later.

85. Never pray thou over any one of them when he is dead or stand over his grave; they have disbelieved in Allah and His messenger and have died while they were reprobates.

86. And let not their wealth or their children excite thy admiration; Allah intends simply to punish them thereby in this world and that they themselves should pass away in their unbelief.

Their protestations not to be accepted.

Followed v. 91.

96. They will swear to you by Allah when ye return to them that ye may turn from them; so turn from them, they are pollution, and their resort is Gehenna — a recompence for what they have been piling up.

Followed vv. 87a, 88 (?).

97. They will swear to you in order that ye may be satisfied with them; so if ye are satisfied with them, verily Allah will not be satisfied with the people who are reprobates.

Followed v. 86, or v. 84 if 85, 86 be a later insertion.

95. They will excuse themselves to you when ye return to them; say: "Do not excuse yourselves, we do not believe you; Allah hath given us some information about you; Allah will see your work, likewise His messenger, and afterwards ye will be brought back to Him who knoweth the hidden and the manifest, who will then tell you what ye have been doing."

[1] Lit. "way," *i.e.* to the infliction of punishment.

Attitude of the Bedouin; date uncertain, but originally perhaps about the time of Ḥudaibiya.

98. The Bedouin are (even) stronger in unbelief and in hypocrisy and more apt not to know the limits of what Allah hath sent down to His messenger; Allah is knowing, wise.

99. Some of the Bedouin regard what they contribute as a tax,[1] and wait for turns (of fortune) befalling you; the turn of evil is upon them; Allah is one who hears and knows.

Fairly early Medinan.

101. Those who have precedence are the first of the Muhājerīn and the Anṣār, and those who have followed them in well-doing[2] Allah is satisfied with them and they are satisfied with Him; He hath prepared for them Gardens through which the rivers flow in which to abide for ever; that is the mighty bliss.

Later addition.

100. But some of the Bedouin believe in Allah and the Last Day and regard what they contribute as a means of access to Allah, likewise the prayers of the messenger—are they not a means of access for them?—Allah will cause them to enter into His mercy; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

The Bedouin; c. time of 98, 99.

102. Of the Bedouin who are round about you some are Hypocrites, and of the people of the city[3] as well, who have become hardened in hypocrisy; thou knowest them not, We know them; We shall punish them twice,[4] afterwards they will be sent back to a mighty punishment.

103. Others have acknowledged their sins, they have mingled upright conduct with other (con-

Perhaps still later.

104. Take of their goods a ṣadaqa to cleanse and purify them thereby, and pray over them; thy prayers are a repose for them; Allah heareth and knoweth.

105. Have they not learned that Allah is He who accepteth repentance from His servants and taketh the ṣadaqa, and that Allah is the Relentant, the Compassionate?

106. And say: "Go on with

[1] Something imposed by force by which they are not morally bound; the word is often interpreted here as meaning a loss.

[2] Or "with kindness."

[3] *I.e.* Medina; the phrase is probably a later insertion.

[4] Generally interpreted as meaning humiliation and death, to be followed by punishment in the future life.

duct) that is evil; possibly Allah will relent towards them; verily Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Added later (?).

107. Others are deferred for the command of Allah whether He will punish them or relent towards them; Allah is knowing, wise.

your works; Allah will see your conduct, as well as His messenger and the believers, and in the end ye will be brought back to Him who knoweth the hidden and the manifest, who will then announce to you what ye have been doing."

The rival mosque at Qubā'; on return from the Northern expedition.

108. As for those who have chosen a place of worship out of opposition and unbelief and the causing of division amongst the believers, and to provide a lurking-place for any who formerly fought against Allah and His messenger, and who actually swear: "We intended nothing but good" while Allah testifieth that they are lying—

109. Thou shalt never stand [1] in it; surely a place of worship founded upon piety from the very first day is more appropriate for thee to stand in; in it are men who love to purify themselves, and Allah loveth those who purify themselves.

110. Whether then is he who has founded his building upon piety towards Allah and goodwill better, or he who has founded his building on the lip of a tumbling scooped-out bank which has then tumbled with him into the fire of Gehenna? Allah guideth not the wrong-doing people.

111. Their building which they have erected will not cease to be a cause of doubt in their hearts unless it be that their hearts are cut in pieces; Allah is knowing, wise.

Allah's bargain with the Believers; fairly early Medinan, 112b and 113 perhaps alternatives.

112. Allah hath bought from the believers their persons and their goods at the price of the Garden (in store) for them,

113. Those who repent, those who serve,[2] who give praise, who wander,[3] who bow, who prostrate themselves, who urge fighting in the way of Allah and killing and being killed—a promise binding [4] upon Him in the Torah, the Evangel, and the

[1] To pray.

[2] *I.e.* worship.

[3] Perhaps after the manner of wandering Christian monks; cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 151.

[4] Lit. "true."

to what is reputable, who restrain from what is disreputable, who guard the limits laid down by Allah; so give (thou) good tidings to the believers.

Qur'ān; and who fulfils his covenant better than Allah? So rejoice in the bargain ye have made with Him; that is the mighty bliss.

Polytheists not to be prayed for.

114. It is not for the prophet nor for those who have believed to pray for pardon for the polytheists, even though they be near of kin, after it has become clear to them that they are bound for the Hot Place.

115. Abraham's praying for pardon for his father was only because of a promise he had made him; so when it became clear to him that he was an enemy of Allah he declared himself free of all responsibility for him; verily Abraham was tender-hearted, kind.

116. Allah is not one to lead a people astray after He has guided them until He makes clear to them what they should guard against;[1] verily Allah everything doth know.

117. To Allah belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth; He giveth life and He causeth to die; apart from Allah ye have neither friend nor helper.

Believers restored to favour; fairly early Medinan (after Uhud?), revised some time after the return from the Northern expedition.

118. Allah hath relented towards the prophet and the Muhājerīn and the Anṣār

who followed him in the hour of difficulty after the hearts of some of them had nearly swerved aside; then He relented towards them, verily He is with them kindly, compassionate.

119. And towards the three who were left behind,[2] until, when the earth, wide as it is, became too narrow for them, and they themselves were straitened, and they thought there was no refuge from Allah but (by betaking themselves) to Him, then He relented towards them that they might repent; verily Allah is the Relentant, the Compassionate.

120. O ye who have believed, show piety towards Allah, and be with those who speak the truth.

[1] Or possibly "guided them so as to make clear to them towards what they should show piety."

[2] Or "whose cases were left over" cf. v. 107.

Duty of fighting the Unbelievers; fairly early Medinan.

124. O ye who have believed, fight the unbelievers who are near to you, and let them feel a rough temper in you, and know that Allah is with those who show piety.

Some averse to war (?); early Medinan.

125. When perchance a surah is sent down, there are some of them who say: "Which of you has this increased in belief?" As for those who have believed, it has increased them in belief, and they rejoice.

126. But as for those in whose hearts is disease, it has increased them in pollution (added) to their pollution and they have died in their unbelief.

127. Do they not see that they are tried every year once or twice? But after all they do not repent nor do they call (it) to mind.

The same; about the same time.

128. When perchance a surah is sent down, they look at each other (as much as to say): "Does anyone see you?", then they turn and go; Allah hath turned their hearts, because they are a people who do not exercise intelligence.

Duty of joining in expeditions; after (?) Northern expedition.

121. It is not for the people of the city[1] nor for the Bedouin round about them to stay behind the messenger of Allah or to prefer their own lives to his; that is because there befalls them not thirst or fatigue or lack of food[2] in the way of Allah, nor do they make any invasion[3] which rouses the anger of the unbelievers, nor do they wreak any stroke upon an enemy,[4] but a good deed is thereby written down to their credit; verily Allah alloweth not to go lost the reward of those who do well.

122. Nor do they make any contribution small or great, or cross a single wādī, but it is written down to their credit, that Allah may recompense them for the best they have been doing.

Believers to be employed in war by sections; later than 121, 122.

123. It is not for the believers to march out all together; so why should not a party from each section of them march out, in order that they may gain understanding in religion, and that they may warn their people when they return to them, mayhap they will beware?

[1] Medina.

[2] Lit. "emptiness."

[3] Lit. "tread any place trodden on."

[4] Lit. "attain from an enemy any attainment."

Originally before v. 40.

129. There has come to you a messenger from among yourselves[1] upon whom your distresses press heavily,[2] who is watchful over you, and who is with the believers, gentle and compassionate.

Added later to v. 128.

130. So if they turn away, say thou: "What I reckon on is Allah, there is no god but He, upon Him do I rely and He is the Lord of the mighty throne."

[1] *I.e.* of Arab race.

[2] Lit. "important to him is what ye suffer."

SURAH X

In its present form this surah is Medinan. The use of the words *muslim* (vv. 73, 84, 90) and *ḥanīf* (v. 105) shows that the break with the Jews has already taken place, or is at least in progress. If v. 87 contain a veiled reference to the adoption of the Ka'ba as *qibla*, that event is probably not very long past. On the whole, a date somewhere in the year II. or early in the year III. would suit the tone of the Medinan parts of the surah well enough. But it is largely formed by revisions of, and additions to, earlier passages. The longest continuous Medinan section is vv. 63–65, 67–93, but this contains the accounts of previous messengers. That of Noah, and the verse referring to messengers between him and Moses, are practically free compositions with little reference to the Biblical stories. But that of Moses and Aaron is evidently partly based on an earlier version of the Biblical story—which it may be noted did not contain any reference to Aaron. The date of the earlier passages thus woven into the surah cannot be stated with any certainty, and there is also doubt here and there as to the exact division between the earlier and the later material. They have mostly been assumed to be late Meccan, but some of them may be early Medinan. One passage at least, vv. 23 ff., shows signs of a double revision, and may contain a very early nucleus.

Sūrat Yūnus—Chapter of Jonah

Medinan heading for inclusion in the Book.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

1. Alif, Lām, Rā'.
These are the signs of the Book that is wise.[1]

Assurance to the Prophet; date uncertain.

2. Is it a wonder to the people that We have suggested to a man from among them: "Warn the people, and give good news to those who have believed that they have a sure footing with their Lord"? The unbelievers have said: "This is magic[2] manifest."

[1] Or "decisive."

[2] Var. lect. "magician."

Signs ; in present form Medinan, but based on Meccan original.

3. Verily your Lord is Allah, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then sat firm on the throne, managing the affair, there is no intercessor, except after His permission ; that is Allah your Lord, so serve Him. Will ye not then be reminded ?
4. To Him is your return, all (of you)—the promise of Allah in truth !
   Verily He originates a creature,[1] then restores it (a second time) that He may recompense those who have believed and have wrought the works of righteousness with justice ; but for those who have disbelieved is a draught of hot (water) and punishment painful, for the unbelief they have been showing.
5. He it is who hath made the sun a glow and the moon a light, and hath determined it as to stations,
   that ye may know the number of the years, and the reckoning (of time), Allah did not create that except with the truth ; We[2] make the signs distinct for a people who have knowledge.
6. Verily in the difference of night and day
   and in what Allah hath created in the heavens and the earth are signs for a people who show piety.

Punishment and Reward ; Meccan (?), revised.

7. Verily those who do not look forward to meeting with Us, and are content with this nearer life, and at rest therein,
   and those who of Our signs are neglectful—
8. Their dwelling is the Fire, for what they have been amassing.
9. But those who have believed and done the works of righteousness, their Lord guiding them for[3] their belief,
   beneath them flow the rivers, in Gardens of delight.
10. Their call therein is : " Glory to Thee, O Allah," and their salutation therein is : " Peace ! "
11. And the end of their call is : " The praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds."

Meccan sayings, adapted and made to rhyme.

12. If Allah were to hasten the evil for the people, as they show haste for wealth, their term would have been finished for them ;

[1] Or " the creation."
[2] Var. lect. " He maketh."
[3] Or " by."

so We leave those who do not look forward to meeting with Us in their arrogance blindly wandering.

13. When harm touches a man, he calls Us on his side,[1] or sitting or standing; but when We have removed the harm from him, he passes on as if he had never called Us to a harm which had touched him;
thus to the extravagant is made fair-seeming what they have been doing.

14. We destroyed the generations before you, when they did wrong, and their messengers came to them with the Evidences and they proved not such as to believe; thus do We recompense the people who are sinners.

15. Then We appointed you as successors in the land after them, that We might see how ye would act.

The Qur'ān scoffed at; Meccan, revised in Medina.

16. When Our signs are recited to them as Evidences, those who do not look forward to the meeting with Us, say: "Bring a different Qur'ān from this, or alter it";[2]

17. Say: "If Allah so willed, I should not recite it to you, nor would He make you acquainted with it; for I had already remained a lifetime among you before it (came); will ye not then understand?" Say: "It is not for me to alter it of my own accord; I only follow what is suggested to me; verily I fear, if I go against my Lord, the punishment of a mighty day."

18. Who then does greater wrong than he who invents falsehood about Allah or counts His signs false? Verily the sinners will not prosper.

Futility of sub-gods; beginning probably Meccan, rest Medinan.

19. They serve apart from Allah what neither injures them nor profits them,[3] and they say: "These are our intercessors with Allah." Say: "Will ye inform Allah of what He knoweth not either in the heavens or in the earth? Glory be to Him and exalted be He far from what they associate (with Him)!"

20. The people were only one community,[4] but they went different

[1] *I.e.* "lying down." [2] Or "substitute something else."
[3] Medinan addition possibly begins here.
[4] *I.e.* they were all originally Monotheists in religion.

ways, and had it not been for a word from thy Lord which preceded, decision would certainly have been given between them in regard to that in which they differ.

A sign may come ; Meccan (?).

21. They say : " Had a sign been sent down to him from his Lord . . . ." Say : " The unseen belongs to Allah ; so wait, I too am with you among those who wait."

Effect a return of prosperity ; Meccan (?).

22. When We cause the people to experience a mercy after adversity has affected them, lo, they have a plot with regard to Our signs ; say : " Allah is quicker at plots ; verily Our messengers [1] are writing what ye plot."

Uncertainty of this life ; an early sign, twice (?) transformed.

23. He it is who enables you to travel by land and sea,
until when ye are in the ship, and they [2] run with them [3]
with a good wind, and they rejoice in it, there comes upon them [2] a tempestuous wind
and the waves come at them [3] from every side, and they think they are engulfed, they call upon Allah, directing their religion exclusively to Him :
" If Thou deliverest us from this, we shall certainly be of those who show gratitude."

24. Then, when He hath delivered them, see how selfishly [4] they act in the land without justification. O ye people, your selfishness [5] is only against yourselves—a temporary enjoyment of this present life, then to Us is your return, and We shall announce to you what ye have been doing.

25. This present life is just like water which We send down from the heaven with which mingles the vegetation of the land which men and cattle eat, until, when the land has taken on its tinsel show and adorned itself, and its people think that they have it in their power, Our affair [6] comes upon it by night or by day, and We make it stubble as if it had not flourished the day before ; thus do We make the signs distinct for a people who reflect.

[1] The angels (?).
[2] The ships ; note the change of number.
[3] The people in the ships.
[4] Or " oppressively."
[5] Or " oppression."
[6] *I.e.* Allah's direct intervention.

The future life ; late Meccan or early Medinan, adapted.

26. Allah calleth to the abode of peace,
and guideth whom He willeth to a straight path.
27. For those who have done well is the good (reward) and more ;
over their faces comes neither gloom [1] nor humiliation ;
these are the inmates of the Garden, therein abiding.
28. As for those who have piled up evil deeds,
the recompence of an evil deed is its like,
and over them comes humiliation,
without their having from Allah a defender,
as if their faces were overcast with pieces of night pitch-dark ;
these are the inmates of the Fire, therein abiding.

A Judgment Scene ; probably Medinan.

29. On the day when We shall round them all up together, and then shall say to the associaters : " Keep your place, you and your associate-gods ! " then We shall set a space between them, and their associate-gods shall say : " It was not we that ye were worshipping ;
30. Allah sufficeth as witness between you and us ; of your worship we were neglectful."
31. There each one experiences what he has advanced, and they have been brought back to Allah their true Master, and strayed from them has what they have been inventing.

Proofs of the true God ; Meccan, with later additions.

32. Say : " Who provides for you from the heaven and the earth, or who has power over the hearing and the sight ?
And who brings forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living, and who manages the affair ? "
Then they will say : " Allah ! ", so say : " Will ye not then show piety ? "
33. " That is Allah your true Lord, and after the truth what is there but error ? How then are ye turned about ? "
34. Thus has come true the word of thy Lord against those who have become reprobate that they will not believe.
35. Say : " Is there any of your associate-gods, who originates a creature and then restores it (a second time) ? " Say : " Allah originateth a creature and then restoreth it (a second time) ;
How then are ye involved in lies ? "

[1] Lit. " dust " or " grime."

36. Say: "Is there any of your associate-gods who guides to the truth?" Say: "Allah guideth to the truth;
whether then is He who guideth to the truth more entitled to be followed, or he who does not guide unless he be guided? What is wrong with you? How ye judge!"
37. The most of them only follow opinion; verily opinion avails nothing against the truth;
Allah is acquainted with what they do.

The Qur'ān could only be produced with Allah's help; Meccan, with Medinan additions.

38. This Qur'ān is not such as to have been invented apart from Allah; but it is a confirmation of what is before it, and a distinct setting forth of the Book in which there is no doubt, from the Lord of the worlds.
39. Or do they say: "He has invented it"? Say: "Then produce a surah like it, and call upon whomsoever ye are able (to call) apart from Allah, if ye speak the truth."
40. Nay, they have counted that false the knowledge of which they have not comprehended, and of which the explanation has not yet come to them;
so did those who were before them count (the message) false;
see of what nature was the end of the wrong-doers.
41. Some of them believe in it and some of them do not believe in it; thy Lord best knoweth those who cause corruption.
42. If they count thee false, say: "My line of conduct for me, and your line of conduct for you; ye have no responsibility for what I do and I have no responsibility for what ye do."
43. Some of them listen to thee, wilt thou then cause the deaf to hear even though they have no understanding?
44. Some of them look to thee, wilt thou then guide the blind, even though they do not see?
45. Verily Allah doeth the people no wrong at all, but the people are wronging themselves.
46. On the day when We round them up as if they had not remained (in the grave) an hour of the day, mutually recognising each other[1] lost have they who have counted false the meeting with Allah, and have not been guided.

[1] This phrase is probably a later alternative to "as if . . . day."

Prophet to see the fulfilment of his threats? Probably Meccan and originally private.

47. Whether We let thee see part of what We promise them, or whether We call thee in,[1] it is to Us that they return;
then Allah is witness of what they do.

48. Each community has a messenger, and when their messenger comes, judgment is given between them with justice, and they are not wronged.

The threatened punishment; Meccan, but several times revised.

49. They say: "When comes this promise if ye speak the truth?"

50. Say: "It is not in my power to injure or profit myself, except in so far as Allah willeth; each community has its term, and when its term comes, they will not stay an hour behind, nor will they go before their time."

51. Say: "Have ye considered? If His punishment come to you by night or by day, what part of it will the sinners seek to hasten?

52. When it happens perhaps will ye then believe in it?"
"Now? And ye have been seeking to hasten it!"[2]

53. Then will be said to those who have done wrong: "Taste the punishment of eternity; are ye being recompensed for anything but what ye have been amassing?"

The threatened punishment; v. 54 Meccan, 55–58 early Medinan.

54. They ask thee to inform them whether it is true; say: "Yea, by my Lord, it is certainly true, and ye will not be able to frustrate (it)."

55. And if each one who has done wrong had all that is in the earth, he would give it as a ransom for himself; they will be full of secret regret, when they see the punishment; judgment will be given between them with justice and they will not be wronged.

56. Ho! verily all that is in the heavens and the earth belongs to Allah. Ho! verily the promise of Allah is true. But most of them do not know.

57. He giveth life and causeth to die, and to Him are ye made to return.

58. O ye people, there has come to you an admonition from your

[1] *I.e.* by causing thee to die—before the fulfilment of the threat comes.

[2] This is to be taken as spoken (by angels?) in mockery of their astonishment when the punishment comes.

Lord, and a balm for what is in the breasts, and a guidance and a mercy to the believers.

The bounty of Allah ; Meccan, revised, probably in Medina, to combat food taboos.

59. Say : " In the bounty of Allah and in His mercy
in that let them then rejoice ; it is better than what they gather."

60. Say : " Have ye considered the provision which Allah hath sent down for you and of which ye have then made some allowable and some forbidden ? " [1] Say : " Hath Allah given you permission, or do ye invent (something) about Allah ? "

61. What is the opinion [2] of those who invent falsehood about Allah on the resurrection-day ?
Verily Allah is bounteous to the people, but most of them do not show gratitude.

Allah's knowledge ; Meccan, with early Medinan (?) addition.

62. Thou art not engaged in any business, nor dost thou recite any qur'ān [3] of it, nor do ye do any work, without Our being witnesses of you when ye are busy in it,
nor does there escape thy Lord even the weight of an atom in the earth or in the heaven, nor less than that nor greater, but it is in a clear book.

66. Let not what they say grieve thee ; dignity belongs to Allah entirely ; He is the Hearer, the Knower.

63. Ho ! verily upon the friends of Allah rests no fear, nor do they grieve.
64. Those who have believed, and have been showing piety—
65. For them is the good tidings in the present life and the Hereafter ; there is no alteration in the words of Allah ; that is the mighty success.

Gods besides Allah a mere opinion ; same time as addition to preceding passage.

67. Ho ! verily to Allah belong whoever is in the heavens and whoever is in the earth ; and those follow who call upon associate-

[1] This clause may possibly belong to the early form.
[2] *I.e.* " what will their opinion be worth ? " or possibly, as it is often taken to mean, " what will they think ? "
[3] Here = a single recitation.

gods apart from Allah—they follow nothing but opinion, they are merely conjecturing.

68. He it is who hath appointed for you the night that ye may rest therein, and the day to let you see; surely in that are signs for a people who hear.

Allah has no need of offspring; same time as preceding.

69. They say: "Allah hath taken to Himself offspring."[1] Glory be to Him! He is the Rich; to Him belongs what is in the heavens and what is in the earth; ye have no authority whatever for this; do ye say about Allah that which ye do not know?

70. Say: "Those who invent falsehood about Allah will not prosper."

71. A temporary enjoyment in this world, then to Us do they return, then We shall make them taste the violent punishment for the unbelief they have been showing.

Stories of previous messengers; early Medinan, but based on earlier versions. (a) *Noah.*

72. Repeat to them the story of Noah; when he said to his people, "O my people, if my standing up and reminding (you) of the signs of Allah be grievous to you, upon Allah have I set my trust; so resolve upon your affair along with your associate (-gods), then let not your affair be a worry to you, but execute judgment towards me and do not give respite.

73. If then ye turn away, I have asked you for no reward; to reward me falls upon no one but Allah, and I have been commanded to be one of those who surrender themselves."

74. So they counted him false, and We delivered him and those with him in the ship[2] and made them successors,[3] and We drowned those who counted Our signs false; see then of what nature was the end of those who were warned.

(b) *Intermediate messengers.*

75. Then after him We sent messengers to their people, and they brought them the Evidences; but they were not such as to believe because of the counting false of which they had previously

[1] Here probably a reference to the Christian doctrine of the Divine Son.
[2] The ark. [3] Or "vice-gerents."

been guilty; thus do We set a seal upon the hearts of those who show enmity.

(c) *Moses and Aaron.*

76. Then after them We sent Moses and Aaron to Pharaoh and his nobility with Our signs; but they were haughty and became a sinful people.
77. When the truth from Us came to them, they said: "Verily this is magic manifest."
78. Said Moses: "Do ye say (this) of the truth when it has come to you? Is this magic?[1] Magicians do not prosper.
79. Said they: "Hast thou come to us in order to turn us away from what we found our fathers practising, and that the greatness in the land may belong to you two? We are not in you believers."
80. Said Pharoah: "Bring me every magician knowing."
So when the magicians came, Moses said to them: "Cast down what ye are going to cast down."
81. Then when they had cast (it) down, Moses said: "What ye have brought is magic; Allah will reduce it to naught; verily Allah does not set right the work of those who cause corruption.
82. Allah establishes the truth by His words even though averse are the sinners."
83. There only believed in Moses a posterity of his people on account of[2] fear of Pharaoh and his nobility, lest they should persecute them; for Pharaoh was lofty in the land, and was one of the extravagant.
84. Moses said: "O my people, if ye have believed in Allah set your trust upon Him, if ye have surrendered yourselves."[3]
85. They said: "Upon Allah have we set our trust; O our Lord, make us not (an object of) persecution to the wrong-doing people,
86. But deliver us in Thy mercy from the unbelieving people."[4]
87. We suggested to Moses and his brother: "Occupy for your people (certain) houses in Egypt and make your houses a qibla,[5]

[1] Or "Do ye say of the truth . . . 'Is this magic?'" but this is rejected by Bd.

[2] Or "in spite of."

[3] *I.e.* have become Moslems.

[4] Verse 86 may be a slightly earlier alternative to 85b.

[5] The reference is quite unknown; possibly it is an indirect justification of Muhammad's choosing a qibla in Arabia.

and establish the Prayer. Give (thou) good tidings to the believers."

88. Moses said: "O our Lord, Thou hast bestowed upon Pharaoh and his nobility adornment and wealth in this present life; O our Lord (it is) that they may err from Thy way; O our Lord, wipe out their wealth,[1] and harden their hearts, so that they may not believe until they see the painful punishment."

89. He said: "Your petition[2] is answered, so keep straight on, and do not follow the way of those who have no knowledge."

90. We passed through the sea with the Children of Israel, and Pharaoh and his hosts pursued them close in greed and enmity, until, when the drowning overtook him, he said: "I believe that there is no god but He in whom the Children of Israel have believed, and I am one of those who surrender themselves."[3]

91. "Now! Though formerly thou didst oppose and wast one of those who caused corruption!

92. So to-day We deliver thee with thy body[4] in order that thou mayest be to those who come after thee a sign; but, verily, many of the people are of Our signs neglectful."

93. We gave to the Children of Israel a secure settlement, and provided them with good things; so they differed not until the knowledge came to them; verily thy Lord will decide between them on the Resurrection-Day as to that concerning which they have been differing.

Assurance to the Prophet in face of unbelief; v. 94 *Meccan, probably followed v.* 66, *vv.* 95–100 *added in Medina.*

94. So if thou art in doubt as to what We have sent down to thee, ask those who recite the Book before thee;[5] the truth from thy Lord has come to thee, so be not of those who dubitate.

95. And be not of those who count the signs of Allah false, so as to be of those who lose.

96. Verily those upon whom the word of thy Lord has come true will not believe,

97. Even though every sign should come to them, until they see the painful punishment.

[1] Perhaps a reference to the spoiling of the Egyptians.
[2] May perhaps refer to v. 86, vv. 87, 88 being later.
[3] *I.e.* Moslems.
[4] See Geiger, pp. 162 f., for a possible Jewish source of this.
[5] *I.e.* Jews or Christians.

98. Why then was there no town which believed, and its belief profited it except the people of Jonah ?[1] When they believed, We lifted away from them the punishment of humiliation in this present life and gave them enjoyment of life for a season.

99. If thy Lord so willed, all those in the land would believe in a body ; wilt thou then put constraint upon the people that they may be believers ?

100. It is not for any person to believe except by the permission of Allah, and He layeth the abomination upon those who do not show understanding.

Signs and warnings of no avail ; Meccan, with later (Medinan ?) alteration.

101. Say : " See what is in the heavens and the earth " ; but the signs and the warnings do not avail a people who do not believe.

102. So do they expect anything but the like of the days (which befell) those who passed away before them ? Say : " Be expectant then, verily I am with you among the expectant."

103. Then We deliver Our messengers and those who have believed, so—a right (to be demanded) of Us—We deliver the believers.[2]

Muhammad's religion ; early Medinan (?), with addition some time later.

104. Say : " O ye people, if ye are in doubt as to my religion—I do not serve what ye serve apart from Allah, but I serve Allah who calls you in (at death) and I have been commanded to be one of the believers."

105. And (have been commanded) : " Set thy face towards the religion as a Ḥanīf, and be not one of those who associate (others with Allah),[3]

106. And invoke not apart from Allah what neither profits thee nor harms thee ; if thou doest so, then in that case thou art one of those who do wrong.

108. Say : " O ye people, the truth from your Lord has come to you ; so whoever lets himself be guided, to his own advantage does he let himself be guided,

[1] Nineveh.

[2] Reading the indicative in place of the jussive, for which there seems to be no explanation.

[3] *I.e.* Polytheists.

and whoever goes astray does so to his own hurt; I am not over you a trustee."

107. If Allah touch thee with harm, no one can lift it away but He, and if He intends (to give) thee good, no one can turn back His bounty; He causeth it to fall upon whomsoever of His servants He willeth. He is the Forgiving, the Compassionate."

109. Follow what has been suggested to thee, and endure until Allah judgeth; He is the best of those who judge.

SURAH XI

This surah is Medinan as it stands, but probably contains Meccan material. Vv. 1–4 form the introduction to it as a chapter of the Book; they have probably been written on the back of vv. 5–9 which consist of detached scraps, v. 9 being out of rhyme. From v. 10 to v. 26 we have earlier passages, late Meccan or early Medinan, which have been revised and added to. Here vv. 20–26 form a specially complicated piece. In its basal form it seems to have been a comparison between the authority behind Muhammad's message, and that behind the denial of his opponents; then it became an assurance to the prophet by an appeal to those who accepted the Scriptures of Moses. These forms were probably Meccan. Then it became a tirade against the Jews, several times revised. Stories of former messengers form the main portion of the surah. These are early Medinan, but the Meccan basis is more or less evident in them, and the existence of an early group, Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Shu'aib, is still attested by the introductory formula. The story of Abraham and Lot breaks the connection which binds that group together, but has no doubt also a Meccan basis. The reference (for it is little more) to the story of Moses is not only differently introduced, but is quite different in character from the other stories. In them the point is the special overthrow of unbelieving communities, but in it the main point is their punishment on the Resurrection-Day. It may have been appended to the group of stories in order to add an eschatological point to them. This is confirmed by v. 63, which adds a similar point to the story of Hūd, and suggests that the formula, "Ho, away with . . ." which occurs at the end of the other stories, is to be taken as pronounced on the Resurrection-Day, and that the stories have thus been adapted to enforce the doctrine of future judgment. At what time that was done it is impossible to say. Vv. 105–111, which deal with the Judgment and future reward and punishment, may have formed the conclusion of the surah in that form. They at least connect better with the verses dealing with Pharaoh, than with the intervening passage, vv. 102–104, which has no reference to the Resurrection. It forms a conclusion to the

stories of the destruction of unbelieving peoples, but the cryptic phrase : " some of them are standing and some of them are reaped," seems to imply that the Jewish " towns " are in Muhammad's mind. Vv. 112–120 certainly belong to the period of disputes with Jews and Christians in the first years in Medina. The concluding verses of the surah, vv. 121–123 are similar to vv. 102–104, and probably at one time formed a conclusion to the series of stories of former messengers. They seem earlier than that passage. Whether they are also earlier than the eschatological portions is doubtful. The arrangement adopted in the text for these concluding sections is precarious. It assumes that vv. 102–104 and vv. 112–120 belong to the same time and have been written on the back of earlier endings, vv. 99–101, 105–111, and 121–123. But these various endings may simply have stood separately, or possibly, though not very probably, the eschatological conclusion may be the latest. Should this be so, the relative date of the duplicate endings of the story of Noah would also have to be changed.

Sūrat Hūd—Chapter of Hūd.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Allah's knowledge ; Medinan ?

5. Ho, verily, they fold their breasts that they may seek concealment from Him ; ho, when 6. they cover themselves with their garments, He knoweth what they conceal and what they display ; 7. verily He knoweth the secrets of the breasts.

Connection not certain.

8. There is not a beast in the earth but Allah is responsible for its sustenance ; He knoweth its lair and its resting-place ; everyone is in a clear book.

The Book ; Medinan.

1. Alif, Lām, Rā'.
A Book, the verses[1] of which have been clearly formulated,[2] and then made distinct, (derived) from One wise and well-informed ;
2. (Saying) : " Do not serve any but Allah ; verily I am to you from Him a warner and a bringer of good tidings ; "
3. And : " Ask forgiveness of your Lord, then repent towards Him, He will give you good enjoyment of life up to a set term, and will give His bounty to everyone of merit ; [3] but if ye

[1] Or " signs."

[2] Or " adjusted " ; cf. iii. 5.

[3] Or " bounty " ; the same word is used twice, but probably in a rather different sense as applied to men from what it has as applied to God.

Allah the Creator ; date ?

9. He it is who hath created the heavens and the earth in six days, and His throne was upon the water ;[1] that He might try you which of you is best in deed.

turn away, verily I fear for you the punishment of a great day.

4. It is to Allah that ye return, and He over everything hath power."

The perversity of men ; possibly Meccan, but perhaps not all of one date.

10. If thou sayest : " Verily ye will be raised up after death," those who have disbelieved will say : " This is only magic manifest."
11. If We postpone the punishment from them till a defined period, they will say : " What withholds it ? " Ho, on the day that it comes to them it will not be a thing to be turned from them, and encompass them will what they have been ridiculing.
12. If We cause man to experience a mercy from Us and then withdraw it from him, lo, he is despairing, unbelieving.
13. If We cause him to experience prosperity after a dearth which has affected him, he will assuredly say : " The evil (deeds) have departed from me " ; lo, he is rejoicing, boastful.
14. Except those who have endured and wrought the works of righteousness ; for them is forgiveness and a great reward.

An encouragement to the Prophet to proceed with his full design ; Meccan, but revised, perhaps twice, in Medina.

15. So perhaps thou art leaving undone part of what is suggested to thee, and thy breast is straitened thereby ; because they say : " If only a treasure had been sent down to him, or an angel had come along with him—" Thou art only a warner, Allah of everything is trustee.
16. Or do they say : " He has invented it " ; say (thou) : " Then bring ten surahs like it which have been invented, and call upon whatever (gods) ye can apart from Allah, if ye speak the truth."
17. So if they do not respond to you, know (ye) that it is sent down with Allah's knowledge, and that there is no god but He ; so are ye Moslems ? "

[1] There is a break in the sense and possibly the concluding phrase is a separate scrap.

Lovers of this life will have their reward ; early Medinan (?).

18. If anyone is desirous of this present life and its adornment, We shall recompense them for their works therein, and in it they will not be defrauded.

19. These are they for whom in the Hereafter there is nothing but the Fire ; there what they have done will have become fruitless, vain what they have been working.

Originally a Meccan comparison between Muhammad's authority and that of his opponents ; revised in Medina, perhaps more than once, and turned against the Jews.

20. He then who takes his stand on an Evidence from his Lord, and a witness from Him recites it, and before it is the Book of Moses as a model and a mercy —these believe in it. and he of the sects [1] who disbelieves in it, the Fire is his appointed place ; so be in no dubitation about it ; it is the truth from thy Lord, but most of the people do not believe.

26b. as regards likeness are these two on the same footing ? Will ye not then be reminded ?

21a. Who then does greater wrong than those who invent falsehood about Allah ?

22a. Who turn (others) aside from the way of Allah and would have it crooked, and who in the Hereafter disbelieve.

21b. These will be mustered before their Lord and the witnesses will say : " These are the ones who lied about their Lord ; ho, the curse of Allah is upon the wrong-doers."

22b. These have not been able to frustrate (Allah's design) in the land, nor apart from Allah have they had any patrons ; the punishment will be doubled for them ; they were not able to hear nor were they clear-sighted.

23. These are they who have lost themselves, and strayed from them has what they have been inventing.

[1] Probably originally in the sense of followers of heathen gods, cf. xxxviii. 12 ; at the time of the final revision perhaps taken as referring to Jews and Christians, cf. xiii. 36.

24. Without a doubt they in the Hereafter will be the worst losers.
25. Verily those who have believed and done the works of righteousness and humbled themselves towards their Lord—they are the inmates of the Garden, therein to abide.

26a. The likeness of the two parties is the blind and the deaf compared with the clear-sighted and the hearing.

The story of Noah, based on a Meccan version, but with many additions, some of them Medinan.

27. We sent Noah to his people (saying): "I am for you a warner clear.
28. Serve not (any) but Allah; verily I fear for you the punishment of a painful day."
29. The nobility who disbelieved of his people said: "We do not see thee to be anything but a human being like ourselves, strange in opinion and we do not see that any follow thee but the basest of us; we do not see that ye have any superiority over us; nay, we think ye are lying."
30. He said: "O my people, have ye considered—if I stand upon an Evidence from my Lord, and He hath bestowed upon me a mercy from Himself, and it has been withheld from your sight, shall we cause you to adhere to it, though ye be to it averse?
31. O my people, I ask you not for wealth in return for it; no one is responsible for my reward but only Allah, and I am not going to drive away those who have believed, verily they are destined to meet their Lord, but I see you to be a people who are ignorant.
32. O my people, who will help me (to escape) from Allah if I drive them away? Will ye not then be reminded?
33. I say not to you that the treasuries of Allah are with me, nor do I know the unseen; I say not that I am an angel; but I do not say to those whom your eyes contemn that Allah will not give them good—Allah best knoweth what is in them—verily in that case I should be among the wrong-doers."
34. They said: "O Noah, thou hast disputed with us and disputed much with us, so bring us what thou promisest us, if thou art of those who speak the truth."
35. He said: "Allah will bring it you if He so willeth, and ye will not frustrate (it).

37. Or do they say: "He has invented it"? Say: "If I invent, upon me is my sin, and I am clear of the sins which ye commit."

36. My good counsel will not profit you—if I wish to give you good counsel—if Allah willeth to mislead you; He is your Lord and to Him will ye be made to return."

38. It was suggested to Noah: "No more of thy people will believe than have believed already, so be not distressed at what they have been doing.

39. Make the Ark under Our eyes and Our suggestion, and make no addresses to Me in regard to those who have done wrong; verily they are to be drowned."

40. And he was making the Ark, and whenever the nobility of his people passed by him they made fun of him; he said: "If ye make fun of us, verily we shall make fun of you, as ye have been making fun; so one day ye will know

41. Upon whom comes a punishment that humiliates him, and upon whom there is let loose a punishment that remains";

42. Until when Our affair came and the oven boiled, We said: "Put on board of it pairs, two of each kind, and thy household —except him upon whom sentence has already passed—and whoever has believed"; but there had not believed with him more than a few.

43. He said: "Embark ye therein; in the name of Allah its course and its harbourage! verily my Lord is forgiving, compassionate."

44. It was running with them among waves like mountains, and Noah called to his son, who was in a place apart: "O my son, embark with us, and be not with the unbelievers."

45. He said: "I shall betake myself to a mountain which will

47. Noah called to his Lord and said: "O my Lord, my son is one of my household, and verily Thy promise is the truth; Thou art the worthiest to judge of those who judge."

48. He said: "O Noah, he is not of thy household; verily it[1] is a deed not upright, so do not ask Me what thou hast no knowledge of; I admonish thee not to be one of the ignorant."

49. He said: "O my Lord, I

[1] Probably refers to Noah's prayer for his unbelieving son, but Moslems shrink from ascribing a deed not upright to a prophet and interpret the phrase as referring to the son; "he is (the doer of) a deed not upright."

defend me from the water"; he said: "There is no defender to-day from the affair of Allah, except (for) him upon whom He has mercy." The waves came between them and he was among the drowned.

46. A voice came: "O earth, swallow up thy water, and cease, O sky"; and the water subsided, the affair was finished, and it stood firm on al-Jūdī;[1] a voice came: "Away with the wrong-doing people!"

take refuge with Thee from asking what I have no knowledge of; if Thou dost not forgive me and have mercy upon me, I shall be one of the losers."

50. A voice came: "O Noah, disembark with peace from Us, and blessings upon thee and upon communities of those who are with thee; (other) communities We shall give enjoyment of life, and then will affect them from Us a punishment painful."

51. That is one of the stories of the unseen, which We give thee by inspiration; thou didst not know it, neither thou nor thy people before this; so endure, verily the result is to those who show piety.

The story of ʿĀd and the prophet Hūd; probably Meccan with Medinan additions.

52. To ʿĀd (We sent) their brother Hūd; he said: "O my people, serve Allah; there is no god for you other than He; ye are only inventing.

53. O my people, I ask you for no reward for it, no one is responsible for my reward but only He who created me; will ye not then be intelligent?

54. O my people, ask forgiveness of your Lord and then repent towards Him and He will send the heaven upon you in copious rains, 55. and will increase you strength upon strength; turn not away as sinners."

56. They said: "O Hūd, thou hast not brought us an Evidence, and we are not going to desert our gods at thy word; nor are we going to give thee credence.

57. All that we say is that some (one) of our gods has smitten thee with evil." He said: "I call Allah to witness and do ye witness that I am clear of what ye associate (as gods)

58. Apart from Him; so scheme against me all together, and then respite me not.

59. Verily I have set my trust upon Allah, my Lord and your Lord,

[1] A mountain in Arabia; cf. *E.I.* s.v. Djūdī.

there is not a beast but He takes it by the forelock; verily my Lord is upon a straight path.

60. If then ye turn away, I (for my part) have proclaimed to you the message with which I was sent to you; my Lord will set up in succession a people other than you, and ye will not injure Him at all; verily my Lord over everything keeps guard."

61. When Our affair came, We rescued Hūd and those who had believed with him by a mercy from Us; We rescued them from a punishment rough.

62. That is ʿĀd; they gainsaid the signs of their Lord and opposed His messengers and followed the command of any tyrant obstinate.

63. So a curse was made to follow them in this world, and on the resurrection-day: "Ho, ʿĀd disbelieved in their Lord. Ho, away with ʿĀd the people of Hūd!"

The story of Thamūd and the prophet Ṣāliḥ; Meccan, revised in Medina.

64. To Thamūd (We sent) their brother Ṣāliḥ; he said: "O my people, serve Allah, there is no god for you other than He; He caused you to spring from the earth, and gave you continuance of life therein, so ask forgiveness of Him and then repent towards Him; verily my Lord is near, responsive."

65. They said: "O Ṣāliḥ, thou wert amongst us heretofore one of whom we had good hopes; dost thou forbid us to serve what our fathers used to serve? Truly, we are as regards what thou callest us to in doubt disquieting."

66. He said: "O my people, have ye considered—if I stand on an Evidence from my Lord and He hath bestowed upon me a mercy from Himself, who then will help me (to escape) from Allah if I oppose Him? Ye only increase me in the causing of loss.

67. O my people, this is Allah's she-camel as a sign for you; so let her feed in Allah's land, touch her not with any evil lest there seize you a punishment near-at-hand."

68. Then they slew her, and he said: "Enjoy life in your dwelling three days! That is a promise not falsely spoken."

69. When Our affair came We rescued Ṣāliḥ and those who had believed with him by a mercy from Us, and from the humiliation of that day; verily thy Lord is the Strong, the Sublime.

70. The shout caught those who had done wrong, and in the morning they were in their dwellings crouching,

71. As if they had never lived at ease in them; "Ho, Thamūd disbelieved in their Lord. Ho, away with Thamūd!"

The story of Abraham and that of Lot; Medinan, though perhaps with Meccan elements.

72. Our messengers came to Abraham with the good tidings; they said: "Peace!" and he said: "Peace!" and it was not long till he brought a calf roasted.
73. Then when he saw their hands not reaching forward to it, he misliked them and conceived a fear of them;[1] they said: "Fear not; we have been sent to the people of Lot."
74. His wife was meantime standing by, and she laughed; so We gave her the good tidings of Isaac, and after Isaac, Jacob.[2]
75. She said: "Alas! shall I bring forth when I am old and my husband here an old man? verily this is a thing strange."
76. They said: "Dost thou think the affair of Allah strange? The mercy and blessings of Allah be upon you, O people of the house;[3] verily He is praiseworthy, glorious."
77. Then when the alarm had gone from Abraham and the good tidings had come to him, he was disputing with Us in regard to the people of Lot; for Abraham was gentle, tender-hearted, devout.
78. "O Abraham, leave off from that, for the affair of thy Lord has come, and upon them is coming a punishment not to be turned back."
79. When Our messengers came to Lot he was troubled about them and distressed;[4] said he: "This is a hard day."
80. His people came to him rushing—before that they had been accustomed to work evil deeds; he said: "O my people, there are my daughters, they are purer for you; so show piety towards Allah, and do not humiliate me in the matter of entertaining guests; is there not among you one man right-minded?"
81. They said: "Thou knowest, we have no right at all to thy daughters and thou knowest well-enough what we want."

[1] That the angels do not touch food is probably a Rabbinic trait, *vide* Rodwell; Muhammad interprets it in the Arab way as a sign of hostility.

[2] It is fairly clear that here Muhammad regards Jacob as the son of Abraham.

[3] Regarded by R. Paret as referring to the Ka'ba *v. Festschrift*, E. Littmann, p. 130.

[4] Lit. "straitened in reach" or "power."

82 He said: "If only I had strength for you, or might betake myself to a strong pillar – !"[1]

83 They[2] said: "O Lot, we are the messengers of thy Lord; they will not reach thee; so set out with thy household during the night, let not one of you turn round – except thy wife, verily what befalls them will befall her; their appointed time is the morning, is not the morning near?"

84 So when Our affair came, We turned it upside down and rained upon it stones of baked clay, piled up, marked in thy Lord's presence, nor are they from the wrong doers far away

The story of Midian and the prophet Shu'aib, Maccan, revised in Medina.

85. To Madian (We sent) their brother Shu'aib, he said: "O my people, serve Allah; there is no god for you other than He; do not give short measure or weight; verily I see you well-off, but I fear for you the punishment of a day (all) encompassing.

86 O my people, give full measure and weight with justice, and do not defraud the people of their things, and do not work mischief in the land causing corruption.

87. That a blessing (portion)[3] of Allah will be better for you, if ye be believers.

88. And I over you am no guardian."

89. They said: "O Shu'aib, does thy Prayer command thee that we should forsake what our fathers served, or doing[4] what we will with our property? Surely, thou art the clement, the right-minded one."

90. He said: "O my people, have ye considered—if I stand upon an Evidence from my Lord and He hath provided me with a good provision from Himself – ? I do not wish to come behind[5] you to what I forbid you; I only wish to set things right as far as I am able; my hope of success is in Allah alone; upon Him have I set my trust and to Him do I turn penitently.

91. O my people, let not the cleavage with me incite you so that there befall you the like of what befell the people of Noah, or

[1] Generally interpreted figuratively as "a thief."
[2] I.e. the angels. [3] I.e. the eternal reward.
[4] Governed by "forsake," but the grammar is a little uneven, and the phrase probably a Meccan insertion into an earlier verse.
[5] I.e. forbid you from it and then enjoy it myself.

the people of Hūd, or the people of Ṣāliḥ, and the people of Lot are from you not far away.

92. Ask forgiveness of your Lord, then repent towards Him; verily my Lord is compassionate, loving."

93. They said: "O Shu'aib, much of what thou sayest we do not understand; but we see thee to be weak amongst us, and were it not for thy company [1] we should stone thee; to us thou art not of much account."

94. He said: "O my people, is my company of more account to you than Allah, and do ye choose (to have) Him behind you, abandoned? Verily what ye do my Lord doth comprehend.

95. O my people, go on acting as ye are doing; I am going to act (in my way); in the end ye shall know,

96. Upon whom will come a punishment that will humiliate him, and who it is that speaks falsely; watch, I as well as you am watching."

97. When Our affair came, We rescued Shu'aib and those who believed with him by a mercy from Us; the shout caught those who had done wrong and in the morning they were in their dwellings crouching,

98. As if they had never lived at ease therein; "Ho, away with Midian as Thamūd is far away!"

Moses and Pharaoh; Medinan (?).

99. We sent Moses with Our signs and clear authority to Pharaoh and his nobility, but they followed the command of Pharaoh, and the command of Pharaoh was not right-minded.

100. He shall precede his people on the Resurrection-Day and down to the Fire he hath led them—bad is the herd led down! [2]

101. A curse was made to follow

Comment on the preceding stories; Medinan.

102. That do We recount to thee of the stories of the towns; some of them are standing and some of them are reaped.

103. We wronged them not but they wronged themselves; the gods upon which they called apart from Allah did not profit them at all when the affair of thy Lord came; they only increased them in perdition.

104. Such is the grip of thy

[1] Usually taken to mean the prophet's family or tribe, but the word *rahṭ* has something slightly contemptuous about it; "gang" (?).

[2] Or "bad is the place led down to."

them in this (life), and on the resurrection-day, bad is the present presented!

The Judgment; possibly connected with vv. 99–101.

105. Verily in that is a sign for whoever fears the punishment of the Hereafter; that is a day to which the people are to be gathered; that is a day attested,
106. And We only postpone it to a term defined.
107. On the day when it comes no one shall speak, except by His permission; some of them will be miserable, some happy.
108. As for those who are miserable, they are in the Fire, which for them pants and roars,
109. Therein to abide as long as the heavens and the earth remain, except as thy Lord pleaseth; verily thy Lord doeth what He wisheth.
110. As for those who are happy, they are in the Garden, therein to abide as long as the heavens and the earth remain except as thy Lord pleaseth—a gift imperishable.
111. So be not in dubitation on account of what these people serve; they serve only as their fathers served before them; Lord when He takes hold of a town in its wrong-doing; verily His grip is painful, violent.

Encouragement in the face of differences with previous Monotheists; Medinan, c. year II.

112. We gave Moses the Book, and differences arose regarding it; and had it not been for a word from thy Lord which had preceded, decision would already have been given between them; but, see, in regard to it they are in doubt disquieting.
113. Verily all thy Lord hath not yet paid in full[1] for their doings; verily of what they are doing He is well-informed.
114. So stand straight as thou art commanded, thou and those who repent with thee, and be not arrogant, verily what ye are doing He doth clearly see.
115. Lean (ye) not upon those who have done wrong,[2] lest the Fire touch you — apart from Allah there are for you no patrons—and then ye will not be helped.
116. And observe (thou) the Prayer at the two ends of the day and the neighbouring parts of the night, for good deeds take away evil deeds; that is a reminder for those who will remember.

[1] The construction is uncertain and disputed, but the verse seems to contain a covert hint at the Jewish colonies.

[2] The Jews (?).

verily We shall pay them their portion in full, undiminished.

An earlier conclusion to the prophetic stories; Medinan (?).

121. All[1] We recount to thee of the stories of the messengers is that whereby We establish thy heart, and in this there has come to thee the truth and an admonition and a reminder to the believers.

122. Say to those who do not believe: "Go on acting as ye are doing, we are going to act (our way); and wait, verily we are waiting."

123. To Allah belongs the unseen[2] in the heavens and the earth, and to Him the whole affair will be brought back; so serve Him, and set thy trust upon Him, thy Lord is not neglectful of what ye do.

117. And endure (thou) patiently; verily Allah alloweth not to perish the reward of those who do well.

118. If only there had been of the generations before you men of perseverance restraining from corruption in the land—except a few of those whom We rescued from amongst them—; but those who have done wrong have followed that in which they luxuriated, and have become sinners.

119. Thy Lord was not one to destroy the towns wrongously, their peoples being upright livers.

120. If thy Lord had so pleased He would have made the people one community; but they go on differing, except those upon whom thy Lord hath had mercy; for that He created them, and the word of thy Lord hath been fulfilled: "Verily I will fill Gehenna with jinn and men together."

[1] For the construction here *vide* Mingana: *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, ii. 1, p. 91.

[2] Here probably in the sense of "the future."

SURAH XII

This surah has been adapted for inclusion in the Book, vv. 1, 2 (addressed to the people) forming the introduction. Verse 3 (addressed to the prophet) may have formed the introduction to it as part of the Qur'ān. It is devoted entirely to the story of Joseph, the extraneous verses at the end owing their presence to the back of them having been used in order to make an addition to the story. This addition is Medinan and was probably made when the surah was adapted for the Book. Vv. 4–6 are hardly necessary to the story as told but are referred to in the addition at the end; they were also probably added at the same time. This leaves v. 7 as an appropriate beginning for the story. The story itself shows signs of revision. There have been in fact two versions. The earlier seems to have been simply the story of Joseph, without any reference to Benjamin. The latter plays no real part in the surah except in vv. 59–87. If that section be removed, v. 88 then follows naturally upon v. 58. Additions have been made also in other parts of the surah; the phrase "and his brother" in v. 8; 15b and the word "and" in 16; 21b; 24 (?); 33, 34 (?); 52, 53; 56, 57; 90b. Vv. 37–41 have certainly also been revised; 37b, 38 belong to the time of the break with the Jews, and may belong to the same time as the introduction and conclusion of the surah, but 39, 40a, 41 have a different rhyme, which perhaps indicates an intermediate revision. How much of the passage belonged to the original version it is impossible to say. Some parts of that version seem to have been omitted when the surah was remodelled, and some of them used over again in the new form. Thus vv. 84–87 have reference to Joseph, and have been adapted to the Benjamin part of the story by the introduction of the phrase "and his brother" in v. 87. Vv. 94, 95 seem out of place as they stand, and would much better suit the departure of the caravan going to Egypt, than its departure from Egypt to return. But that depends on the meaning of the rather uncertain phrase with which v. 94 begins. One would have expected some explanation to have been given why the brothers went to Egypt and came

into Joseph's presence the first time, but that is only hinted at in v. 88. Whether the remodelling of the story so as to introduce the Benjamin episode took place at the time the surah was adapted for inclusion in the Book, or at some earlier stage, is uncertain.

Sūrat Yūsuf—Chapter of Joseph.

In the Name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate.

1. Alif, Lām, Rā'.
These are the signs of the Book that is clear.
2. Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic Qur'ān; mayhap ye will understand.
3. We shall give thee the best account,[1] in that We have suggested to thee this Qur'ān, although before that thou wert one of the negligent.
4. (Recall) when Joseph said to his father: "O my father, I have seen eleven stars and the sun and the moon, I have seen them to me doing obeisance."
5. He said: "O my son, do not recount thy vision to thy brothers, lest they devise some stratagem against thee; verily Satan is to man a manifest enemy.
6. Thus doth thy Lord choose thee, and teach thee the interpretation of sayings, and perfect His favour upon thee and upon the family of Jacob, as He perfected it upon thy fathers Abraham and Isaac formerly; verily thy Lord is knowing, wise."

7. In Joseph and his brethren were signs for those who inquire.
8. (Recall) when they said: "Joseph and his brother are dearer to our father than we, though we are a band; surely our father is in manifest error.
9. Kill Joseph or make him an outcast as to land; your father's countenance will then be free for you, and you will thereafter be an upright people."
10. One of them said: "Do not kill Joseph, but throw him into the bottom of the cistern, and some caravan will take him up—if ye are going to do (anything)."

11. They said: "O our father, why dost thou not trust us with Joseph; verily we are to him sincere advisers.

[1] Or "we shall recount to thee the best of stories."

12. Send him with us to-morrow, we[1] shall enjoy ourselves and play, and verily we over him shall keep guard."
13. He replied: "It certainly grieves me that ye should take him away and I fear that the wolf may eat him, while ye of him are negligent."
14. They said: "Surely if the wolf eat him, and we a band, we in that case are indeed losers."

15. So when they had taken him away, and agreed to place him in the bottom of the cistern and We suggested to him the thought: "Thou wilt certainly tell them of this affair of theirs, when they are not aware."
16. They came to their father in the evening, weeping.
17. They said: "O our father, we went off trying who should be foremost, and left Joseph by our stuff, and the wolf ate him—but thou art not one to believe us, even though we were telling the truth."
18. And they put false blood upon his shirt. He said: "Nay! ye have blown up a bubble for yourselves; but to endure is becoming and Allah is the one to be asked for help against what ye talk about."

19. A caravan came, and they sent their water-drawer, who let down his bucket; he said: "O good news! here is a young man!"; so they concealed him as merchandise; but Allah was cognisant of what they were doing.
20. They sold him at a low price, a certain number of dirhams; for they thought little of him.[2]
21. He who bought him, being from Egypt, said to his wife: "Make his dwelling honourable; possibly he may be of use to us, or we may adopt him as a son"; thus did We make a place for Joseph in the land, and (it was) in order that We might teach him the interpretation of sayings; Allah is master of His affair, but most of the people do not know.
22. And when he reached his full strength, We gave him jurisdiction and knowledge; thus do We reward those who do well.

23. She in whose house he was, solicited him for himself, locked the doors and said: "Come on!" He replied: "Allah preserve me! verily my lord has given me a good dwelling; surely the wrong-doers will not prosper."

[1] Var. lect. "he."

[2] Lit. "for in regard to him they were of the abstemious."

24. She was fascinated with him, and he was fascinated with her; had it not been that he saw a proof of his Lord— ; thus (it was) in order that We might turn away from him evil and indecency ; verily he was one of Our single-hearted servants.
25. They raced for the door, and she rent his shirt from behind. At the door they met her master ; she said : " What is the recompence of one who has intended evil towards thy household, unless it be that he be imprisoned, or a painful punishment ? "
26. He said : " She solicited me for myself." Then one of her household bore witness : " If his shirt is torn from before, she has spoken the truth, and he is one of those who speak falsely.
27. But if his shirt is torn from behind, she has spoken falsely, and he is one of those who speak the truth."
28. So when he saw his shirt torn from behind, he said : " It is some of your guile, verily your guile is mighty.
29. Joseph, take no further notice of this, and do thou (O woman) ask pardon for thy sin ; verily thou hast been one of those who commit faults."

30. Some women in the city said : " The wife of the great man solicits her page for himself ; he has smitten her heart with love ; verily we consider her to be in manifest error."
31. So when she heard their cunning (talk), she sent (a message) to them, and prepared for them a feast, and to each of them she gave a knife. Then she said (to Joseph) " Come forth to them ! " So when they saw him they were so astonished at him, that they cut their hands ; they said : " Saving Allah's presence ! this is not a man ; this is nothing but a noble angel."
32. She said : " That is he in regard to whom ye blamed me ; I have solicited him for himself, but he defended himself ; but assuredly if he does not do what I command him, he will be imprisoned, and become one of the subdued."
33. He said : " My Lord, I prefer the prison to that to which they invite me ; if Thou dost not avert their guile from me, I shall play the youth with them, and become one of the ignorant."
34. Then his Lord answered him, and averted their guile from him ; verily He is the One who hears and knows.

35. Then it seemed good to them, after they had seen the signs : " Let them imprison him for a time."

36. There entered the prison with him two pages; one of them said: "I see myself pressing wine"; the other said: "I see myself carrying upon my head bread of which the birds eat; tell us the interpretation thereof, for we consider thee one of those who do well."

37. He said: "There will not come to you any food with which ye are provided, but before it[1] comes to you I shall tell you the interpretation thereof; that is part of what my Lord hath taught me; verily I have forsaken the creed of a people who do not believe in Allah, and who in the Hereafter do disbelieve;

38. And have followed the creed of my fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It was not for us to associate anything with Allah; that is part of the bounty of Allah to us and to the people; but most of the people do not show gratitude.

39. O my two fellow-prisoners, are various Lords better or Allah the One, the Victorious?

40. Apart from Him, ye serve only names which you and your fathers have named, and for which Allah has sent down no authority. The jurisdiction belongs to Allah alone; He hath commanded that ye serve none but Himself; that is the eternal religion; but most of the people do not know.

41. O my two fellow-prisoners, as for one of you, he will pour out wine for his lord; as for the other, he will be crucified, and the birds will eat from his head; the matter is decided concerning which ye sought an answer."

? 42. He said to the one of them who he thought was to escape: "Make mention of me in the presence of thy lord"; but Satan caused him to forget to mention him to his lord,[2] so he remained in the prison several years.

43. The king said: "I see seven fat kine, which seven lean ones are eating, and seven green ears of corn, and others dry; O ye nobility, give me an answer in regard to my vision, if visions ye are able to expound."

44. They said: "A tangle of dreams; and with the interpretation of dreams we are not acquainted."

[1] The construction of this verse is loose and the meaning uncertain; it may mean that he will answer their question before food is brought them; or that he will tell them beforehand the meaning of any food seen in a dream.

[2] Or "caused him (Joseph) to forget the remembrance of his Lord" (*vide* Rodwell).

45. Said the one of them who had escaped—for he recollected himself after a period: "I shall inform you of the interpretation thereof, so give me leave to go."
46. "Joseph, trusty friend, give us an answer in the matter of seven fat kine which seven lean ones are eating, and seven green ears of corn and others dry; mayhap I shall return to the people, mayhap they will know."
47. He said: "Ye shall sow diligently [1] seven years; and what ye harvest leave in its ears, except a little from which ye may eat.
48. Then after that will come seven hard (years) which will eat up what ye have laid up beforehand for them, except a little which ye keep guarded.
49. Then after that will come a year in which the people will have rain [2] and will press (the grape)." [3]

50. The king said: "Bring him to me." But when the messenger came to him, he said: "Return to thy lord and ask him: What about the women who cut their hands? Verily my Lord with their guile is acquainted."
51. He said: "What about the affair of yours when ye solicited Joseph for himself?" They replied: "Saving Allah's presence! we know no evil against him." The wife of the great man said: "Now the truth has come to earth; I solicited him for himself, and he is one of those who speak the truth."
52. "That is in order that he may know that I did not betray him in secret, and that Allah doth not guide the guile of the treacherous.[4]
53. I declare not myself innocent; for the self habitually urges to evil, except in so far as my Lord hath compassion; verily my Lord is forgiving, compassionate."

54. The king said: "Bring him to me, I shall single him out for myself." So when he spoke to him, he said: "See, this day thou art at our side firmly established and trusted."
55. He said: "Set me over the store-houses of the land; verily I am a wise guardian."
56. Thus did We make a place for Joseph in the land so that he might settle in it wherever he willed; We cause Our mercy to

[1] Or "according to your custom." [2] Or "will be succoured."
[3] Or "will reap a harvest," *i.e.* press out the fruits of the earth; or with a slight change of reading, "will have showers sent them."
[4] Vv. 52, 53 are usually regarded as spoken by Joseph.

light upon whomsoever We will, and We allow not to perish the reward of those who do well.

57. But the reward of the Hereafter is better for those who have believed and have been showing piety.

58. The brethren of Joseph came and went in to him; he recognised them, but him they thought a stranger.

59. When he fitted them out with what they required, he said: "Bring me a brother of yours (a son) of your father; see, I give full measure and I am the best of entertainers.

60. So if ye do not bring him to me, there is no measure for you with me, and ye shall not come near me."

61. They said: "We shall solicit his father for him; surely we shall do (so)."

62. He said to his pages: "Place their goods in their packs; mayhap they will recognise them when they return to their families; mayhap they will return."

63. So when they returned to their father they said: "O our father, (further) measure has been refused us, but send with us our brother, and we shall get measure; verily we of him shall be guardians."

64. He said: "Shall I trust you with him except as formerly I trusted you with his brother? Allah is the best guardian and He is the most merciful of the merciful."

65. When they opened their stuff, they found their goods returned to them; they said: "O our father, What more do we desire? Here are our goods returned to us; we shall supply our households, and guard our brother, and get an extra measure of a camel-(load). That is an easy measure."

66. He said: "I shall not send him with you, until ye give me an assurance from Allah, that ye will surely bring him (back) to me; unless (it be) that ye are beset." So when they had given him their assurance, he said: "Allah over what we say hath charge."

67. He said: "O my sons, enter not by one gate but enter by different gates;[1] I avail you not against Allah at all; the jurisdiction rests with Allah alone; upon Him have I set my trust, and upon Him let those who trust set their trust."

[1] As a precaution against the evil eye (?). This must have been a Jewish trait in the story.

68. When they had entered in the way their father commanded them, it did not avail them against Allah at all; (it was) only a need[1] in the self of Jacob, which he satisfied; he was assuredly in possession of knowledge, because of what We had taught him; but the most of the people do not know.

69. When they went in to Joseph, he took his brother to his side, and said: "Truly I am thy brother, so do not be distressed at what they have been doing."

70. So when he fitted them out with what they required, he put the drinking vessel in his brother's load; then one made proclamation, "O caravan, ye are thieves."

71. They said, approaching them: "What is it that ye miss?"

72. They said: "We miss the king's goblet; to him who brings it a camel-load (will be given); I for it am guarantor."

73. They said: "By Allah, ye know that we did not come to work corruption in the land, and we have not been thieves."

74. They said: "What then is the recompence thereof, if ye are speaking falsely?"

75. They said: "The recompence thereof is—he in whose load it is found shall be the recompence thereof; so do we recompense the wrong-doers."

76. So he began with their sacks, before his brother's sack, then afterwards he brought it forth from his brother's sack. Thus did We make a stratagem for Joseph; he was not one to take his brother in the religion of the king,[2] but that Allah willed it; We raise in rank whomsoever We will, and above everyone who has knowledge is One who knows.

77. They said: "If he steals, then a brother of his has stolen before";[3] but Joseph concealed it in himself, and did not let it appear to them. He said: "Ye are in evil plight, and Allah knoweth well what ye talk about."

78. They said: "O great one, he has a father, an old man advanced in years; so take one of us instead of him; we think thee to be one of those who do well."

[1] Viz. the precaution which he suggested; which implied a lack of trust in Allah.

[2] Usually taken as referring to the king of Egypt: possibly we should read *dain* "debt," instead of *dīn*, "religion."

[3] The reference is quite uncertain: a confusion with the story of Rachel has been suggested.

79. He said: "Allah forbid that we should take anyone but him in whose possession we found our stuff; in that case we should be wrong-doers."

80. So when they despaired of him, they withdrew privately; the eldest of them said: "Do ye not know that your father has laid you under an assurance from Allah? and a little before ye transgressed in the matter of Joseph; so I shall not leave the land until my father gives me permission, or Allah gives judgment in my favour; he is the best of judges.

81. Return to your father and say: 'O our father, your son has committed a theft; we testify only what we know, and against the unseen we could not guard.

82. Ask the city in which we have been, and the caravan in which we have come; assuredly we speak the truth.'"

83. He said: "Nay! ye have blown up a bubble for yourselves; but to endure is becoming![1] Possibly Allah will bring them to me both together; He is the One who knows and judges."

84. He turned from them and said: "O my grief for Joseph," and his eyes grew white for grief, and he was filled with suppressed emotion.

85. They said: "By Allah, thou wilt not cease making mention of Joseph until thou art decrepit, or art amongst those about to perish."

86. He said: "I make complaint of my agitation and grief to Allah; I know of Allah what ye do not know.

87. O my sons, go and seek news of Joseph and his brother; despair not of the comfort of Allah; none despair of the comfort of Allah but the unbelieving people."

88. When they went in to him,[2] they said: "O great one, famine has come upon us and our households, and we have brought transported goods; so give us good measure, and bestow alms upon us, verily Allah rewardeth the givers of alms."

89. He said: "Do ye know what ye did with Joseph and his brother, when ye were ignorant?"

[1] Cf. v. 18: the phrase is repeated from there, and the following vv. 84–87, which probably originally belonged to that part of the surah, have been transferred here, with slight modifications.

[2] *I.e.* Joseph; cf. v. 58, which perhaps originally preceded this.

90. They said: "Art thou Joseph?" He said: "I am Joseph; and this is my brother; Allah has bestowed favour upon us; truly if one shows piety and endures patiently, Allah alloweth not to perish the reward of those who do well."
91. They said: "By Allah, Allah hath preferred thee before us, and we have been indeed at fault."
92. He said: "There is no reproach upon you to-day, Allah will forgive you; He is the most merciful of the merciful.
93. Take this shirt of mine and cast it upon my father's face, and he will become quick-sighted; and come to me with your families in a body."

94. When the caravan departed, their father said: "Surely I feel the smell of Joseph, were it not that ye think me doting."
95. They said: "By Allah, thou art surely in thy old-time error."

96. So when the bringer of good-tidings came, he cast it[1] upon his face, and he was rendered quick-sighted.
97. He said: "Did I not say to you: 'Verily I know of Allah what ye know not'?"
98. They said: "O our father, pray for us that our sins may be forgiven; verily we have been at fault."
99. He said: "I shall pray my Lord for forgiveness for you; verily He is the Forgiving, the Compassionate."
100. When they had gone in to Joseph, he took his parents to his side, and said: "Enter Egypt, if Allah will, in security."

Most of the people refuse to believe; Meccan (?).

101. He brought his parents up upon the throne, and they (all) fell down before him in obeisance; he said: "O my father, this is the interpretation of my vision aforetime; my Lord hath made it true; He hath done well by me, seeing He hath brought me out of the prison, and hath brought you from the

103b. Most of the people, even though thou shouldst be zealous, are not believers.
104. Thou askest them for no reward for it; it is simply a reminder to the worlds.
105. How many a sign in the heavens and the earth do they pass by, therefrom averting (themselves)!

[1] *I.e.* Joseph's shirt; cf. v. 93. Vv. 94, 95 are out of place; unless the phrase *faṣalat al-'īr*, v. 98 —which cannot refer to the departure of the caravan from Egypt, as usually interpreted—refers to its arrival at Jacob's dwelling.

106. The most of them do not believe in Allah, except they associate (others with Him).
107. Do they then feel secure against an overwhelming (stroke) of the punishment of Allah coming upon them, or the Hour coming upon them suddenly when they are not aware?
108. Say: "This is my way—I summon to Allah on the basis of a Demonstration, I and those who follow me. Glory be to Allah, I am not one of those who associate (others with Him)."

Messengers always men, and always met difficulties; Meccan, with Medinan alteration.

109. We never sent before thee any but men to whom We made suggestions, of the people of the towns; have they then not travelled about in the land and seen of what nature was the end of those who were before them? But, assuredly, the abode of the Hereafter is better for those who have shown piety; will they not then be intelligent?
110. Until when the messengers despaired and thought that they had spoken falsely,[1] Our help came to them; then those whom We willed were rescued, and Our violence was not turned back from the sinful people.

desert, after that Satan had stirred up strife between me and my brethren; verily my Lord gently reacheth whatsoever He willeth, He is the Knowing, the Wise.
102. O my Lord, Thou hast bestowed power upon me, and hast taught me the interpretation of sayings; Creator of the heavens and the earth, Thou art my patron in this world and the Hereafter; call me in (to Thyself) a Moslem, and join me with the upright."

Concluding comment on the story.

103a. That is one of the stories of the unseen, which We give thee by inspiration; thou wert not with them when they came to their resolution in their plotting.
111. But surely in the giving account of them there has been a lesson for those of insight; it was not an invented tale, but a confirmation of what was before it, a clear setting forth of everything, a guidance and a mercy to a believing people.

[1] Var. lect. "had been spoken falsely to," or "had been counted false"; *vide* Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 26, for a discussion of the reading.

SURAH XIII

This surah seems to consist largely of scraps, which have been revised and added to at some time in Medina. It has, in v. 1, an introduction as a chapter of the Book. This rhymes in *-ūn*, a rhyme which has also been fitted to the " sign "-passage, vv. 2–4, and perhaps also to vv. 5–6, if these be regarded as one verse, and not as two having this rhyme originally. The rest of the surah rhymes in long *ā* followed by a consonant. This appears as an underlying rhyme in vv. 2–4—also in v. 6. It is as if the attempt to impose the *-ūn* rhyme had been given up, and the surah allowed to remain as it was before its adaptation to the Book. The revision which extends throughout is in any case fairly early Medinan. The original passages on which it was founded are therefore probably Meccan for the most part. An attempt has been made to distinguish the earlier passages from the additions made to them, but in so scrappy a chapter much must be regarded as uncertain.

Sūrat ar-Raʿd—Chapter of the Thunder.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The Book ; introduction added in Medina.

1. Alif, Lām, Mīm, Rā'.
These are the signs of the Book, and what has been sent down to thee from thy Lord is the truth, but most of the people do not believe.

Signs ; probably early, revised, with change of rhyme, in Medina.

2a. Allah it is who hath raised up the heavens without pillars that ye can see ;
2b. Then sat firm upon the throne managing the affair ;
2c. And hath subjected the sun and the moon to service, each running its course to a fixed term ;
2d. He maketh the signs distinct, mayhap of the meeting with your Lord ye will be convinced.

3. He it is who hath stretched out the earth, and placed in it mountain peaks and rivers.

Original end of 2b.

3b. causing the night to cover the day

3c. Of all fruits He hath placed in it two in pairs ;

3d. surely in that are signs for a people who reflect.

4a. And in the earth are portions neighbouring each other,

4b. And gardens of vines
And sown land, and palm-trees clustered and single.

4c. watered by the same water, yet We give preference to one over the other in the matter of edible (fruit) ;

4d. surely in that are signs for a people who are intelligent.

Unbelief in the Resurrection ; joins to v. 1 (*?*).

5. If thou wonderest, a wonder indeed is their saying : " What ! when we have become dust, shall we be in a new creation ? "

6. These are they who have disbelieved in their Lord ; these—the shackles are about their necks ; these are the inmates of the Fire, therein to abide.

Answer to a jibe as to the coming of punishment ; Meccan, with Medinan addition (?).

7. They seek to hurry thee with the evil before the good,[1] though there have happened before their time examples ; verily thy Lord is forgiving to the people in spite of their wrong-doing ; and thy Lord is severe in punishment.

Demand for a sign ; late Meccan.

8. Those who have disbelieved say : " Why has not a sign been sent down to him from his Lord ? " Thou art only a warner, and for every people there is a guide.

Allah's knowledge ; Meccan sign, with Medinan expansion.

9. Allah knoweth what each female bears, and wherewith the wombs shrink or increase,[2] and everything with Him has its measure ;

[1] Perhaps refers to the idea that the deliverance of the believers must take place before the calamity falls.

[2] Or " by how much the wombs fall short of their time or exceed it."

10. Knower of the unseen and the manifest, the Great, the Self-exalted.
11. Alike are those of you who keep what they say secret, and those who make it public, those who hide themselves in the night, and those who go about in the day.
12. There are doggers of their footsteps [1] before them and behind them to keep watch over them, belonging to the affair of Allah ; Allah altereth not what is in a people until they alter what is in themselves, and when Allah intendeth evil with a people, there is no turning it back ; and apart from Him they have no patron.

Signs ; Meccan, with Medinan additions.

13. He it is who causeth you to see the lightning in fear and in desire [2] and bringeth up the heavy clouds.
14. The thunder hymns with His praise, the angels too in awe of Him, and He sendeth the thunderbolts and smiteth with them whomsoever He pleaseth ; yet they dispute concerning Allah, though He is strong in device.
15. He (only) is truly to be called upon, and those whom they call upon apart from Him do not respond to them at all, but (it is) only like one stretching out his hands to water that it may reach his mouth, but it never reaches it ; the prayer of the unbelievers only goes astray.
16. To Allah do obeisance all who are in the heavens and the earth, willingly or of constraint, their shadows too in the morning and in the evenings.

Allah the only Creator ; perhaps of various dates.

17a. Say : " Who is the Lord of the heavens and the earth ? " Say : " Allah."

17b. Say : " Have ye then chosen patrons apart from Him who have no power for profit or for injury even to themselves ? "

Possibly stood originally before v. 19.

17c. Say : " Are the blind and the quick-sighted alike, or are the darknesses and the light alike ? "

[1] *I.e.* angels.

[2] In fear of the storm, but desire of the rain which accompanies it.

17d. Or have they set up partners to Allah who have created as He hath created, so that the creation has become confused to them? Say: "Allah is the creator of everything; He is the One, the Victorious."

Possibly originally a sign, turned to a simile of the true and the false, with Medinan addition against those who do not respond.

18. He sendeth down water from the heaven and wādis come down in flood each in its measure, and the flood bears scum on top; from that over which men light a fire to get from it ornament or useful article, comes a scum like it; thus doth Allah coin (a simile for) the true and the false; the scum disappears as rubbish, what is of use to the people remains in the earth; thus doth Allah coin parables.

For those who respond to their Lord is the good (reward), but those who do not respond to Him—if they had all that is in the earth and as much again along with it, they would give it as their ransom; a bad accounting is (in store) for them, their resort is Gehenna and bad is the bed!

Possibly with v. 17c a simile for the Believers, with Medinan additions and revisions, the relative dates of which are not certain.

19. Is he then who knows that what has been sent down to thee from thy Lord is the truth, like him who is blind? But reminded are only those of insight;

22. Who endure patiently in desire of the favour of their Lord, and have observed the Prayer, and contributed freely of what We have provided them with, secretly and openly, and drive away the evil by the good;

for them is the reversion of the dwelling.

23. Gardens of Eden[1] which they shall enter and

20. Who fulfil the covenant of Allah, and do not violate the compact;

21. Who conjoin what Allah hath commanded to be conjoined, fear their Lord and fear a bad accounting.

25. But those who violate the covenant of Allah after the compact with Him, and cut asunder what Allah hath commanded to be conjoined, and cause corruption in the land

[1] Or "delight," giving the word its Arabic meaning.

those of their fathers and their spouses and posterity who have been upright,
the angels coming in upon them from every door:
24. "Peace be upon you, for the patient endurance ye have shown; good is the reversion of the dwelling."

—for them is the curse, and for them an evil dwelling.

Allah's power; Meccan (?), with Medinan addition.

26. Allah maketh generous provision for whomsoever He willeth or stinteth; they rejoice in this present life, but the present life in comparison with the Hereafter is nothing but a temporary enjoyment.

Demand for a sign; Meccan, with early Medinan addition, or wholly Medinan.

27. Those who have disbelieved say: "Why has not a sign been sent down to him from his Lord?" Say: "Verily Allah sendeth astray whomsoever He willeth, and guideth to Himself whosoever turns devoutly (to Him)."
28. Those who have believed, and whose hearts are at peace in the remembrance of Allah—in the remembrance of Allah should not hearts be at peace?—those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness—happiness for them and a good place of resort!

The Prophet will be vindicated; late Meccan, with Medinan revision making it a reply to a mood of hopelessness on the part of his followers.

29. Thus have We sent thee amongst a community before whom other communities have passed away, in order that thou mayest recite to them what We have suggested to thee; but they disbelieve in the Merciful, Say: "He is my Lord, there is no god but He; upon Him have I set my trust, and to Him do I turn in penitence."
30. Though[1] If only by a qur'ān[2] the mountains had been moved, or the earth

[1] Verse 30a seems to have belonged to the original form as expressing the degree of unbelief, in the revision it is a despairing thought of his followers.

[2] Here in the sense of a separate recitation.

been cleft, or the dead been spoken to. . . . Nay, but the affair is entirely in Allah's hands; have not then those who have believed fallen into despair that if Allah were so to will He would guide the people in a body?

31. But a striking (calamity) will always fall upon those who have disbelieved for what they have done, or will alight near their dwelling, until what Allah hath promised comes;[1] verily Allah will not be behind the set time.

32. "Messengers have been mocked at before thee, and I forebore with those who disbelieved, but afterwards I took hold of them, and of what nature was My punishment?"[2]

A Meccan scrap altered and added to in Medina.

33. They have set up partners to Allah; say: "Name them or will ye inform Him of what He doth not know in the earth or of what is openly spoken?" What! He who stands over every one with what he has piled up— Nay, their plotting has been made to look well to those who have disbelieved, and they have been turned aside from the way; whom Allah sendeth astray, for him there is no guide.

34. For them is punishment in this present life, and the punishment of the Hereafter is more distressing still; and from Allah there is for them no protector.

The Garden; perhaps a scrap displaced from v. 23, with beginning and end added.

35. Likeness of the Garden which is promised to those who show piety —through it the rivers flow, the edible (fruit) of it is perpetual and its shade; that is the reversion of those who show piety, the reversion of the unbelievers is the Fire.

Assurance to the Prophet; late Meccan or early Medinan, revised later.

36. Those upon whom We have bestowed the Book rejoice in what has been sent down to thee, though of the sects[3] are some who

[1] The sense of the verse seems to be that calamity has always fallen upon a people who have rejected a messenger, and that this will hold also in the case of Mecca. In the middle of the verse we have perhaps a reference to the defeat which befell them at Badr.

[2] The connection of 32 with what precedes is not certain.

[3] Here perhaps in the sense of Jews and Christians.

disapprove of some of it; say: "I have simply been commanded that I should serve Allah, and not associate anything with Him; to Him do I summon, and to Him is my recourse."

May possibly have followed 36.

38. We have sent messengers before thee, and have given them wives and a posterity, but it was not for any messenger to produce a sign except by Allah's permission; for every term there is a book.[1]

37. Thus have We sent it down, an Arabic code, and assuredly, if thou followest their desires after the knowledge which has come to thee, thou wilt not have against Allah any patron or protector.

39. Allah will delete what He willeth, or confirm; with Him is the source[2] of the Book.

When will the punishment come?

40. Whether We let thee see part of what We promise them, or call thee in (by death), the proclamation is thy responsibility, Ours the accounting.

Progress of Muhammad's influence.

41. Have they not noticed that We come to the land diminishing it at its extremities? Allah gives decision, and there is no reviser of His decision; He is swift at accounting.

An objection repelled; Meccan?

43. Those who have disbelieved say: "Thou art not an envoy"; say: "Allah is sufficient witness between you and me, and those who have knowledge of the Book."

Plots of no avail.

42. Those before them laid plots, but Allah knoweth all about plotting;[3] He knoweth what each person piles up, and one day the unbelievers will know to whom is the reversion of the dwelling.

[1] Here in the sense of a written, fixed decree.

[2] Lit. "mother."

[3] Lit. "plotting belongs to Allah entirely."

SURAH XIV

This surah, like the preceding, seems to consist largely of fragments, and shows also the same variation of rhymes. Vv. 1–3 form the introduction added for inclusion in the Book, but even this probably contains earlier elements, and possibly the addition consisted simply of the group of letters and the word "Book." Verse 4 looks like an answer to some objection, possibly from the Jews, that Hebrew was the language of revelation. Verse 5 is probably earlier, and has some relation to v. 1. Vv. 6, 7 seem also to belong to a time when Muhammad has not quite given up appealing to the Jews. Verse 17b probably belonged to this, but a long insertion has been made in which Moses is made to preach to his people much in the style of Muhammad. This was probably written on the back of scraps, vv. 18–28. So far, with the exception of v. 28, the rhyme has been in *-ūn*, and this rhyme has also been imposed, by means of additions, upon the passage vv. 29–32, which originally rhymed in long *ā*, followed by a consonant. The latter rhyme prevails throughout the rest of the surah, with the exception of a couple of verses, 39, 40, inserted into, or more probably substituted for the bulk of, a passage dealing with Abraham. This passage in fact looks as if it contained verses of various dates, but any further separation of its elements would be very uncertain. The end of the surah is very confused. The reconstruction assumes that there was an early passage describing the Resurrection, vv. 48–51a, 44a, (or perhaps 44a may have formed the end of 49); this was altered by removing 50, 51a, 44a, and substituting 51b for them on the back of 50, 51a. The whole was then discarded and 43, 45–47 substituted for it, written on the back of portions of it with other scraps. The concluding verse which perhaps belonged to the early passage was probably retained through all the changes.

Sūrat Ibrāhīm—Chapter of Abraham.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Introduction ; Medinan, but probably containing elements of different dates.

1. Alif, Lām, Rā'. A Book which We have sent down to thee that thou mayest bring the people forth from the darknesses to the light, by the permission of their Lord, to the path of the Sublime, the Praiseworthy ;
2. Of Allah to whom belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth ; woe to the unbelievers because of a punishment violent ;
3. Who count the present life more to be loved than the Hereafter, turn (others) aside from the way of Allah, and are eager to have it crooked ; they are in error far-reaching.

Reply to an objection ; Medinan.

4. We never sent any messenger but with the speech of his people, that he might make (things) clear to them ; but Allah sendeth astray whomsoever He willeth, and guideth whomsoever He willeth ; He is the Sublime, the Wise.

Mission of Moses ; Medinan, but earlier than v. 4.

5. We sent Moses with Our signs : "Bring thy people forth from the darknesses to the light, and remind them of the days of Allah" ;[1] verily therein are signs for every enduring thankful one.

Moses' appeal to his people ; same time as v. 5.

6. (Recall) when Moses said to his people : " Remember the goodness of Allah towards you, when He rescued you from the family of Pharaoh who were imposing upon you the worst of punishment, killing your sons and keeping your women alive ; in that was from your Lord an experience mighty."
7. And when your Lord proclaimed : " Assuredly if ye are thankful, I shall increase you, but if ye disbelieve, My punishment is severe."

[1] Times of Allah's intervention ; Horovitz recalls " the wars of the Lord," Num. xxi. 14.

Scraps of uncertain date.

18. They sought an issue, and disappointed was every tyrant obstinate.
19. Behind him Gehenna, he is given drink of water slimy ;[1]
20. He gulps it, but hardly swallows it ; death comes to him from every side, yet he is not dead, and behind him is punishment rough.

21. Likeness of those who have disbelieved in their Lord—their works are like ashes upon which the wind blows strongly on a day of hurricane, they cannot keep hold of any of what they have piled up ; that is the error far-reaching.

22. Has not one seen that Allah hath created the heavens and the earth in truth ? If He so willeth, He will remove you, and bring (in your place) a new creation.
23. For Allah that is not of much account.

24. They stepped forth to Allah in a body, and the weak said to those who had claimed greatness : " We were followers of yours ; are ye going to avail us anything against the punishment of Allah ? " 25. They said : " If Allah had guided us, we should have guided you ; it is

A later addition to the above.

8. Moses said : " If ye disbelieve, ye and those who are in the earth all together, yet Allah is rich, praiseworthy.
9. Has there not come to you the story of those before you, the people of Noah, and ʿĀd, and Thamūd,
10. And of those after them whom only Allah knoweth ? Their messengers came to them with the Evidences, but they put their hands in their mouths, and said : ' We disbelieve in the message with which ye have been sent, and as to what ye call us to we are in doubt disquieting.'
11. Their messengers said : ' Is there doubt about Allah, Creator of the heavens and the earth, who calleth you that He may forgive your sins, and retain you till a fixed term ? ' 12. They said : ' Ye are only human beings like ourselves, who desire to turn us aside from what our fathers used to serve, so bring us authorisation clear.'
13. Their messengers said to them : ' We are only human like yourselves, but Allah bestows favour upon whomsoever He willeth of His servants ; it is not for us to bring you an authorisation, 14. except by the permission of Allah ; upon

[1] The meaning is uncertain ; it is usually interpreted as the watery matter which oozes from a wound.

all one for us whether we give way to distress or endure patiently, there is for us no place of shelter."
26. Satan said when the affair was decided: "Verily Allah promised you what was true, and I made you promises too, but I have left you in the lurch; I had over you no authority, 27. except that I called you and ye responded to me; so blame not me but blame yourselves; I am not going to succour you, nor are ye going to succour me; I disbelieved in the partnership which ye formerly ascribed to me." For the wrong-doers there is punishment painful.

.....

28. Those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness have been made to enter Gardens through which the rivers flow to abide therein by the permission of their Lord, in which their greeting is: "Peace!"

Allah let the believers set their trust.
15. And why should we not set our trust upon Allah, seeing He hath guided us our ways? Surely, we shall endure patiently under the injuries ye inflict upon us; upon Allah then let the trustful set their trust.'
16. Those who had disbelieved said to their messengers: 'We shall certainly expel you from our land, or else ye will return to our creed'; then their Lord suggested to them: 'We shall surely destroy the wrong-doers, 17a. And shall cause you to inhabit the land after them;

Originally followed v. 7 (?).

17b. that is for those who fear My judgment-seat and fear My threat.'"

Parable of the true and the false; early Medinan (?), revised.

29. Seest thou not how Allah hath coined a parable?[1] A good word is like a good tree whose root is firmly fixed, and whose top is in the sky;
30. Which produces its edible fruit every season, by the permission of its Lord; Allah coineth parables for the people, mayhap they will be reminded.
31. And a corrupt word is like a corrupt tree which is bodily removed from off the earth and has no fixity.
32. Allah stablisheth those who have believed by the declaration which is firmly fixed in this life and the Hereafter,[2]

[1] In Psalm 1.

[2] In the Arabic it is doubtful whether this phrase goes with "firmly fixed" or with "stablisheth"; it is usually taken with the latter.

and Allah doeth what He willeth.

and Allah sendeth astray the wrong-doers.

Fate of Unbelievers; early Medinan, v. 34 *perhaps added later.*

33. Hast thou not noticed those who have changed the goodness of Allah into unbelief, and caused their people to alight in the dwelling of perdition;
34. Gehenna in which they shall roast, and bad is the settlement?
35. They have set up peers to Allah that they may lead (men) astray from His way; say: "Enjoy life (for a time), verily the place ye are going to is the Fire."

Duties of Believers; fairly early Medinan.

36. Say to My servants who have believed: let them observe the Prayer, and contribute of that with which We have provided them secretly and publicly, before a day comes on which there will be neither bargain nor friendship.

The gifts of Allah; Medinan, but made up of Meccan phrases.

37. Allah it is who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath sent down from the heaven water, and hath thereby brought forth fruits as a provision for you; to your service hath He subjected the ship that it may run in the sea by His command, and He hath subjected to your service the rivers; for you also hath He subjected the sun and the moon, two constant toilers, and He hath subjected for you the night and the day; He hath bestowed upon you some of everything ye ask; if ye number the goodness of Allah, ye will not be able to count it; verily man is prone to do wrong, persistent in unbelief.

Abraham a Monotheist; early Medinan, with later substitution.

38. (Recall) when Abraham said: "O my Lord, make this land[1] secure, and keep me and my sons away from serving the idols.

41. O our Lord, Thou knowest what we conceal, and what we make public, and nothing is concealed from Allah, in the earth or in the heaven. The praise belongs to Allah who hath given

39. O my Lord, they have sent many of the people astray; he who follows me then, he belongs to me;[2] he who opposes me—well, Thou art forgiving, compassionate.

[1] The ḥaram of Mecca.

[2] Lit. "is of me," implying that relationship depends on religion rather than on blood.

me Ishmael and Isaac in spite of old age; verily my Lord is the Hearer of petition.
42. O my Lord, make me observant of the Prayer, and some of my descendants, O our Lord, and accept my petition; O our Lord, forgive me and my parents, and the believers, on the day when takes place the reckoning."

Detached, perhaps followed 51*a*.

44a. With necks outstretched and heads abased, and never a look to themselves, their hearts vacant.

Detached.

44b. And warn the people of the day when the punishment will come to them.

47b. They laid their plot, but their plot was known to Allah though their plot was such as to remove mountains.

Allah's promise sure; late Meccan or early Medinan.

48. So think not Allah is going to fail His promise to His messengers; verily Allah is sublime, wielding vengeance,
49. On the day when the earth will be changed to something else, and the heavens as well, and they shall step forth to Allah the One, the Victorious;
40. O our Lord, I have caused some of my descendants to dwell in a valley where there is no sown land, beside thy sacred House;[1] O our Lord, let them observe the Prayer, and cause some of the people's hearts to yearn towards them, and make provision for them of fruits; mayhap they will be thankful."

Allah's punishment is sure; Medinan, modelled on 48 *ff.*

43. Think not Allah negligent of what the wrong-doers work; He is simply putting them off to a day on which eyes shall bulge out.
45. Then those who have done wrong will say: "O our Lord, put us off to a term near at hand; 46. we shall respond to Thy call and follow the messengers." "Did ye not swear aforetime that for you was no decline?
47a. Ye dwelt too in the places where they dwelt who wronged themselves, and it was made clear to you how We dealt with them; for you We coined parables."

[1] The Ka'ba; the attitude to the Meccans here shown almost suggests that this verse dates from after the irsubmission.

50. And one will see the sinners on that day bound together in fetters ;
51a. Their trousers of pitch, their faces covered by the Fire.
51b. That Allah may recompense everyone what he has piled up ; verily Allah is quick at reckoning.

Conclusion ; probably originally following 48–51*b*, *but retained.*

52. This is a proclamation to the people that they may be warned thereby, and that they may know that there is only One God, and that those of insight may be reminded.

SURAH XV

The beginning of this surah indicates that it has been revised for inclusion in the Book. Vv. 2 and 3 belong to this Medinan revision ; also 4 and 5 if these are continuous with 2, 3, which is a little doubtful. Vv. 6–15 might be continuous with 2, 3 (4, 5), but in some respects seem earlier, and v. 25 is more suitable after v. 15 than in its present position. The " sign "-passage, vv. 16–24, falls out of the context, and was probably an earlier piece on the back of which vv. 6–15 were written, v. 25 standing on the back of the separate piece 26, 27. Both the " sign "-passage and 26, 27 show traces of internal assonances, and have, therefore, probably been based on still earlier pieces. The latter, with its reference to the creation of the jinn from fire, gave the cue for the telling of the story of Iblīs, vv. 28–48. This may belong to the same time as 6–15, 25, but 44 and 47a appear to have been inserted into it, perhaps when the surah was revised for the Book. To the same time as the Iblīs story may be assigned, vv. 49, 50, and the story of Abraham and Lot, here woven into one, vv. 51–75. That this has been built upon an earlier form is shown by the breaks at 57 and 67, the length of vv. 65, 66 compared with the context, and the apparent duplications in 63, 64 and 73, 74. Vv. 76, 77 form a further duplication at the end of the Lot story. They might perhaps be taken as a substitute for 74, 75 (or *vice versa*). But 76 is similar in form to 79b, the dual pronoun in which has really nothing to refer to as it stands. Perhaps there were originally two little punishment-stories—the men of al-Ḥijr and the men of the Grove, in that order, which Muhammad supposed to be in Scripture. Having discovered that they were not, he discarded 78, 79 and used them for the insertion of 76, 77. The remaining reference to al-Ḥijr was then somewhat expanded and included in the surah. The admonitions to the Prophet at the end, vv. 85–99, probably belong to the same time as the bulk of what precedes, but there is a break at v. 90 which connects rather with 87 than with 89 ; vv. 90–93 and 88, 89 are in fact duplicate continuations of 87,

and if, as suggested, the former refers to Jews and Christians, it is probably the later ; but that is not quite certain.

On the whole, we seem to have a surah belonging to the Qur'ān period (late Meccan or early Medinan) adapted for the Book, by the addition of an introduction, vv. 1–5 ; vv. 44 and 47a ; and 90–93 (?).

Sūrat al-Ḥijr—Chapter of al-Ḥijr.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The Book ; Medinan.

1. Alif, Lām, Rā'.
These are the signs of the Book, and a Qur'ān that makes clear.

Punishment of Unbelievers deferred ; same date (?).

2. Perhaps those who have disbelieved wish : " if they had become Moslems. . . ."
3. Leave them ; let them eat and enjoy life, and let hope divert them, in the end they will know.
4. No town have We destroyed without its having a writing known.[1]
5. No community anticipates its term, nor do they fall behind it.

Signs ; Meccan, perhaps based on an earlier form.

16. We have set constellations in the heaven, and made them beautiful to look upon ;
17. And have guarded them from every satan stoned ; [2]
18. Except such as may listen by stealth and them there follows a flame clear-shining.[3]
19. We have stretched out the earth, and on it have cast mountain-peaks, and have caused to spring up in it everything that is weighed.

Why angels are not sent ; late Meccan or early Medinan.

6. They have said : " O thou upon whom the reminder has been sent down, thou art possessed.
7. Why not bring the angels to us, if thou art one of those who speak the truth ? "
8. We send not the angels down but with the truth,[4] and then they would not be respited.
9. It is We who have sent down the reminder and We, verily, shall look after it.

[1] *I.e.* a time written in the book of God's decrees.
[2] Or " accursed."
[3] The gleam of a shooting star.
[4] Here almost = judgment.

20. We have set therein for you means of life, and (for) those for whom ye are not providers.
21. There is not a thing but with Us are its storehouses, and We send it not down but in measure appointed.
22. We send the winds, fertilising, and cause water to come down from the heaven, and give it you to drink, of it ye keep not the stores.
23. It is We who give life and death, and We are the heirs.
24. We know those of you who press forward, and We know those who hang back.

Man and Jinn; Meccan, perhaps already revised.

26. We have created man from potter's clay, of mud ground down;
27. The jinn We created previously of fire of burning heat.

Messengers always jeered at; same date (?).

10. We have sent (messengers) before thee among parties of those of early times.
11. And not a messenger came to them but at him they were jeering.
12. So also We make a way for it in the hearts of the sinners,
13. Without their believing in it, though in the past there has been a regular fate for those of early times.
14. If We were to open upon them a door of the heaven, and they were to go up into it continually,
15. They would say: "Our sight has been intoxicated; nay, we are a people enchanted."
25. Verily thy Lord will round them up; He is wise, knowing.

Story of Iblīs; same date as 6–15, 25 (*?*).

28. (Recall) when thy Lord said to the angels: "See, I am going to create a human being from potter's clay, of mud ground down,
29. So when I have formed him, and breathed my spirit into him, fall in obeisance to him."
30. So the angels did obeisance, all of them together,
31. Except Iblīs; he refused to be with those who did obeisance.
32. He said: "O Iblīs, what is the matter with thee that thou art not with those who do obeisance?"
33. He said: "I was not such as to do obeisance to a human being whom Thou hast created from potter's clay, of mud ground down."
34. He said: "Get out of it[1] then! Verily thou art stoned,[2]

[1] Probably the Garden.

[2] Or "accursed."

35. And upon thee is the curse until the day of judgment."
36. He said : " O my Lord, respite me then till the day of their being raised up."
37. He said : " Thou art one of the respited,
38. Till the day of the time appointed."
39. He said : " O my Lord, as Thou hast perverted me, I will make things appear beautiful to them in the earth, and I will pervert them all together;
40. Except those of them who are Thy servants single-hearted."
41. Said He : " This is a path incumbent on Me (to be) straight.
42. Over My servants thou hast no authority, except such as follow thee of perverse ones ;
43. Verily Gehenna is the place appointed for them all.
44. It has seven gates, to each gate a portion of them is assigned."
45. See, those who show piety are among gardens and springs :
46. " Enter ye into them in peace and security."
47. We have removed any malice that may have been in their breasts, As brothers they sit upon couches facing each other.
48. Fatigue affects them not therein, and therefrom they are not going to be expelled.

Nature of Allah.

49. Tell My servants that I am the Forgiving, the Compassionate,
50. And that My punishment is the painful punishment.

Story of the angels' visit to Abraham and to Lot ; same time, but probably containing earlier elements.

51. Tell them also about Abraham entertaining guests.
52. When they came in to him, and said " Peace," he said : " See, we are afraid of you."
53. They said : " Be not afraid ; see, we give thee good tidings of a wise youth."
54. He said : " Do ye give me good tidings in spite of old age having come upon me ? What good tidings do ye give me ? "
55. They said : " We give thee good tidings of the truth ; so be not of those who despond."
56. He said : " Who desponds as to the mercy of his Lord but the erring ? "
57. He said : " What have ye to say,[1] O envoys ? "
58. They replied : " We have been sent to a people who are sinners ;

[1] Or " what is your business " ; this would naturally come earlier in the story ; perhaps in the underlying version v. 57 followed 52a.

59. Except the family of Lot, them we are going to rescue all,
60. Except his wife; we have decreed; verily she is one of those who stay behind."
61. So when the envoys came to the family of Lot,
62. He said: "Ye are people unknown." [1]
63. They replied: "Nay, we have come to thee with that about which they have been dubitating;
64. We have come to thee with the truth, and verily we speak truly.
65. So set out with thy household during the night,[2] and follow (thou) behind them; let not one of you turn round, but pass whither ye are commanded."
66. We laid upon him that command because the last of these (people) was to be cut off in the morning.
67. The people of the city came rejoicing.
68. He said: "These are my guests; do not disgrace me.
69. Show piety towards Allah and humiliate me not."
70. They said: "Have we not forbidden thee from (having to do with) all the world?" [3]
71. He said: "There are my daughters, if ye will do (it)."
72. By thy life, in their intoxication they were blindly wandering.
73. So the Shout came upon them at the rising of the sun.
74. We turned it upside down, and rained upon them stones of baked clay.
75. Verily therein are signs for those who mark (them).

The Grove; Meccan.

76. Verily it is in a way that remains.
77. Verily therein is a sign for the believers.
78. The men of the grove were wrong-doers.
79. So We took vengeance on them; the two of them are in a codex clear.[4]

Al-Ḥijr [5]*; same time as story of Abraham and Lot, but probably expanded from an earlier form.*

80. The men of al-Ḥijr counted false the envoys.
81. We caused Our signs to come to them, but from them they were averting (themselves).

[1] And therefore of doubtful character. [2] Lit. "in a part of the night."
[3] The exact sense of this verse is not certain.
[4] Probably the Scriptures; the men of the Grove seem to correspond to the people of Midian.
[5] The men of al-Ḥijr seem to correspond to the Thamūd.

82. And they were hewing out houses from the mountains, feeling secure.
83. So the Shout came upon them in the morning,
84. Nor profited them what they had been piling up.

Certainty of the Judgment; late Meccan or early Medinan.

85. We have not created the heavens and the earth and what is between them but with the truth; verily the Hour is surely coming, so overlook [1] gracefully.
86. Verily thy Lord is the Creator, the One who knoweth.

The revelation Muhammad's sufficient provision; same date, but vv. 90–93 probably later.

87. We have bestowed upon thee seven of the repetitions,[2] and the mighty Qur'ān;
88. Cast not longing eyes towards that which We have given classes [3] of them to enjoy; grieve not over them, but lower thy wing to the believers;
89. And say: "I am the clear warner."
90. As We have sent down to the dividers,[4]
91. Who have made the Qur'ān bits.
92. By thy Lord, We shall ask them all,
93. About what they have been doing.

Encouragement to the Prophet to continue his work; same date.

94. Burst forth with what thou art commanded, and turn from the polytheists.
95. Verily We undertake to deal with the scoffers for thee,
96. Who set up along with Allah another god; in the end they will know.
97. We know indeed that thy breast is contracted by what they say.
98. So give glory with the praise of thy Lord and be of those who do obeisance.
99. And serve thy Lord until there come to thee the Certainty.[5]

[1] The injuries done to him by unbelievers.

[2] The most probable explanation of this difficult word is that it refers to the often repeated stories of punishment for unbelief.

[3] Or possibly "couples," the reference then being not to wealth, but to sons.

[4] Jews and Christians who have divided the Scriptures (?).

[5] Probably "death," but possibly the Last Day and Judgment.

SURAH XVI

This surah is so confused in structure that it is impossible to unravel its composition with certainty. In the main it is Medinan but it contains Meccan elements, mainly passages dealing with " signs " which have been revised and adapted for Medinan purposes. Vv. 1, 2 form the introduction and are early Medinan. One might perhaps hazard the guess that the statement that " the affair of Allah has come," implies that the battle of Badr has already taken place. This introduces an address based on Meccan " sign "-passages, vv. 3–9 ; 10–15 (a passage which shows traces of internal rhymes and seems to have been twice revised) ; vv. 17–19 (vv. 20–22 being perhaps the earlier ending of the passage) ; vv. 23, 26, 27 (?), 32. Here, however, the address has been broken in upon by later revisions, the relative sequence of which is uncertain. Evidently 30, 31, and 33 belong to the same time, and are later than 32, and probably earlier than 24, 25, 28. Verse 29 seems a later addition to the latter passage. The following sections, vv. 37–39, 40–42, and possibly 47–49 probably belong to about the same time as 24, 25, 28 ; they must date somewhere about the time of the final break with the Jews. The intervening passage, 43 f., which appears to have been written on the back of 45 f. may have been inserted later, but probably dates from shortly before or after the battle of Uhud, when Muhammad was strengthening his position by encouraging sympathisers to come to Medina. The " sign "-address is resumed at v. 50, being based still on early material, but is broken again by a later addition, vv. 63 (?), 64–66, which appears to have been written on the back of a series of disjointed signs, 67–71. From v. 72 onwards, we have a continuation of the " sign "-address, which, however, seems to be considerably later, and to judge by the nature of the signs adduced was addressed to dwellers in tents rather than to townspeople. It leads up to some instructions as to the requirements of Islam and continues to the end of the surah. It has apparently been written on the back of earlier passages, some of which may have formed part of the earlier address, and others, including a fairly long, continuous

passage near the end, belonged to an exhortation addressed by angels to the prophet. The reconstruction here is in some places uncertain, but that two strands run through this latter part of the surah is evident from the different pronoun of address in different verses.

Sūrat an-Naḥl—Chapter of the Bee.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Allah's intervention has begun; Medinan.

1. The affair of Allah has come, seek not to hasten it; glory be to Him and exalted be He away from all that they associate (with Him)!
2. He sendeth down the angels with the spirit (which is) part of His affair upon whomsoever He willeth of His servants that they may give the warning: "There is no god but I, therefore show piety towards Me."

Signs; Meccan, revised at time of vv. 1, 2.

3. He hath created the heavens and the earth with the truth;[1] exalted be He away from all that they associate (with Him)!
4. He hath created man from a drop; yet, see, he is an open disputer.
5. The cattle[2] too He hath created for you in which there is warmth and various uses, and from them do ye eat;
6. Which are good to look upon as ye bring them home to rest and as ye drive them out to pasture;
7. Which bear your heavy loads to a land which else ye would not reach but with exhaustion of yourselves; verily your Lord is kind and compassionate.
8. Horses too and mules and asses (hath He created) that ye may ride them, and as an adornment; and He createth what ye do not know.
9. It is for Allah to set the direction of the way and some go off the course, but if He had so willed He would have guided you all together.

[1] Or "in truth," but perhaps here, as in some other passages, *al-ḥaqq* has an implication of Judgment as the final purpose of creation.

[2] In Arabia practically equivalent to camels.

Continuation ; revision of another Meccan " sign "-passage.

10. He it is who hath sent down from the heaven water from which ye have drink, and from which comes the bush on which ye pasture (herds).
11. Thereby He causeth to spring up for you (sown) crops, and olives and palms and vines and all kinds of fruit ; surely in that is a sign for a people who reflect.
12. He hath subjected to service for you the night and the day,
The sun and the moon and the stars are made subject to service by His command ; surely therein are signs for a people who are intelligent.
13. And what He hath multiplied (by generation) for you in the earth of various kinds ; surely therein is a sign for a people who call things to mind.
14. He it is who hath subjected the sea to service that from it ye may eat fresh flesh, and bring forth ornaments to wear ; one sees the ships ploughing through it (and it is) that ye may seek His bounty, mayhap ye will show gratitude.
15. He hath cast upon the earth (mountain) peaks lest it sway with you and rivers and paths mayhap ye will guide yourselves.
16. And landmarks and by the stars they guide themselves.

20. But those upon whom they call apart from Allah create nothing, being themselves created ;
21. Dead, not alive, they are not aware,
22. When they will be raised up.

17. Is then one who creates like one who creates not ? Will ye not call things to mind ?
18. If ye number the goodness of Allah, ye will not be able to count it ; Allah is forgiving, compassionate ;
19. And Allah knoweth what ye keep secret and what ye make public.

The opposition of the Jews ; originally perhaps belonged to the same time as the introduction and the revision of the above passages, but with alterations and additions perhaps of various dates.

23. Your God is One God ; the hearts of those who do not believe in the Hereafter are given to denial,
and they are self-conceited.

26. When one says to them: "What hath your Lord sent down?" they say: "Old world tales!"
27. That they may bear their own burdens fully on the day of resurrection and some of the burdens also of those whom, having no knowledge, they lead astray; is it not a bad burden they will bear?

30. Those whom the angels call in[1] while they are wronging themselves, and who then try to make peace (saying): "We have not been doing any evil," (will get the reply): "Yes! verily Allah knoweth what ye have been doing.
31. So enter the gates of Gehenna, therein to abide; bad is the abode of those who thought themselves great!"

24. Without a doubt Allah knoweth what they keep secret and what they make public; 25. verily He loveth not the self-conceited.
28. Those who were before them plotted, but Allah came upon their building from the foundations; the roof fell down upon them from above, and the punishment came upon them from whence they were not aware.

29. Then on the resurrection-day, He will humiliate them and say: "Where are My associate-(gods) in regard to whom ye have been causing schisms?"; those to whom the (revealed) knowledge has been given will say: "Surely, to-day the humiliation and the evil are upon the unbelievers."

32. One says to those who have shown piety: "What hath your Lord sent down?" and they reply: "Something good! For those who have done well there is in this world a fine (reward), but the dwelling of the Hereafter is better;
good is the dwelling of those who show piety."

Detached; followed 23 (*?*).

35. Have they any other prospect but that the angels will come to them or the affair of thy Lord will come? Those who were before them did likewise; Allah did not wrong them, but themselves they were wronging.

33. Gardens of Eden,[2] into which they shall enter, through which the rivers flow, wherein they shall have what they will; thus doth Allah recompense those who show piety."
34. To those whom the angels call in, being good, they shall say: "Peace be upon you! Enter the Garden for what ye have been doing."

[1] At death.

[2] Or "of delight."

36. So the evil of what they had done fell upon them, and encompassed them that which they had been making mock of.

Attempt to conciliate Jews and Christians to be given up ; Medinan.

37. Those who have given (Allah) associates say : " Had Allah so willed we should not have served anything apart from Him, neither we nor our fathers, and we should not have forbidden anything apart from Him " ; [1] so did those who were before them, but have the messengers any other duty than proclamation clear ?
38. We raised up in every community a messenger (with the message) : " Serve Allah and avoid Ṭāghūt " ; [2] some of them there were whom Allah guided, and some there were upon whom error was justly laid ; travel about in the land and see what was the latter end of those who counted false (the message).[3]
39. If thou art eager for their guidance—Allah guideth not those whom He sendeth astray ; [4] for them are no helpers.

Truth of the Resurrection ; same time as preceding, but possibly based on an earlier form.

40. They have sworn by Allah as solemnly as they could : " Allah will not raise up him who dies " ; yea ! it is a pledge upon Him in very truth—but most of the people do not know ;
41. In order that He may make clear to them that in regard to which they differ, and that those who have disbelieved may know that they have been lying.
42. What We say to a thing when We wish it is simply to say : " Be ! " and it is.

The Messenger ; perhaps an early Medinan expansion of a Meccan passage.

45. We have not sent before thee (any) but men to whom We made suggestions, so

Encouragement to emigrate ; probably about same time as preceding.

43. Those who have emigrated in the matter of Allah after having been wronged We shall

[1] Probably a reference to Jewish food-restrictions.
[2] Idolatry.
[3] Or " the messenger."
[4] Or, with a slight change of reading, " Those whom Allah sendeth astray are not to be guided."

ask the people of the Reminder,[1] if ye do not know,
46. With the Evidences and the Psalms [2] and We have sent down the Reminder to thee, that thou mayest make clear to the people what has been sent down to them ; mayhap they will reflect.

certainly lodge well in this world, and the reward of the Hereafter is greater, if they only knew ;
44. Those who have endured patiently and upon their Lord do set their trust.

Possible ways of Allah's dealing with Unbelievers (the Meccans ?) ; about the same time, or perhaps of different dates.

47. Do those who have plotted things evil feel secure that Allah will not sink the earth with them or that the punishment will not come upon them from whence they are not aware ?
48. Or that He will not take them in their going to and fro and they will not be able to frustrate (Him) ?
49. Or that He will not take them by way of giving (them) a fright ? Verily your Lord is kindly, compassionate.[3]

Signs ; Meccan (?), revised probably at same time as v. 3 ff.

50. Have they not considered the things which Allah hath created whose shadows extend themselves on the right and on the left, doing obeisance to Allah in abject submission ?
51. To Allah do obeisance whatever animals are in the heavens and the earth, and the angels ; they are not self-conceited ;
52. They fear their Lord from above them and do what they are commanded.

Unity of God ; Meccan (?), revised and added to at same time.

53. Allah hath said : " Take not two gods " ; He is simply One God ; " To Me then give reverence."
54. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and the earth, and His is the religion perpetually ; towards any other than Allah then will ye show piety ?
55. Whatever pleasant thing ye have is from Allah ; then when hardship touches you, to Him do ye roar.

[1] Those who have the Scriptures.
[2] Or " Scriptures."
[3] If the passage refers to the Meccans, this verse is probably late.

56. Then when He lifts the hardship off you, lo, a part of you with their Lord do associate (others).
57. That they may show ingratitude for what We have bestowed upon them ; " So, enjoy life for a time, in the end ye shall know."

Pagan practices and ideas condemned ; Meccan, revised, with a still later addition against Jews and Christians.

58. They appoint for what they do not know a share of that which We have provided for them ; by Allah ye certainly will be questioned about what ye have been inventing.
59. And they appoint for Allah daughters, Glory be to Him ! and they have what they desire !
60. When the announcement of a female (child) is made to one of them, his face becomes clouded with darkness and he is full of suppressed emotion.
61. He skulks from the people because of the evil of what has been announced to him ; shall he keep it with shame or hide it in the dust ? [1] Is it not an evil judgment that they form ?
62. Verily those who do not believe in the Hereafter are to be compared to what is bad, but Allah is to be compared to the highest ; He is the Sublime, the Wise.

Signs ; Meccan, revised in Medina.

67. Allah hath sent down from the heaven water, and thereby revived the earth after it was dead ; surely in that is a sign for a people that will listen.

68. Surely there is for you in the cattle a lesson ; We give you to drink from that in the belly of which is a mixture of filth and blood, pure milk, pleasant to swallow for those who drink.

63. If Allah were to take the people to task for their wrong-doing He would not leave upon it [2] a single animal ; but He is postponing them to an appointed term, and when their term comes they will not get a post-ponement by an hour nor an advance.
64. They ascribe to Allah what they themselves dislike, and their tongues babble the lie, that the goodly (reward) will be for them ; without a doubt the

[1] Referring to the custom of burying female infants.

[2] Presumably the earth, but the pronoun has really nothing to refer to. The verse may be out of place (used for the insertion of v. 62 ?).

69. . . . And of the fruits of the palms and the vines, whereof ye take for yourselves intoxicating drink and a fine provision ; surely in that is a sign for a people who are intelligent.

70. Thy Lord suggested to the bee : " Take for thyself of the mountains houses, and of the trees and the arbours that (men) erect.
71. Then eat of all the fruits, and pass by the ways of thy Lord humbly." There cometh forth from their bellies a drink varied in colour, in which is healing for the people ; surely in that is a sign for a people who reflect.

Parables ; perhaps originally followed v. 62.

76. So then do not coin for Allah any comparisons ; Allah knoweth but ye do not know.
77. Allah hath coined a comparison — a servant enslaved, having no power over anything, and one whom We Ourselves have provided with a goodly provision and who then contributes from it secretly and openly, are they on the same footing ? The praise belongs to Allah ! Nay, most of them have no knowledge.
78. Allah hath coined a comparison—two men, one of them Fire will be for them, and they will be hustled in.
65. By Allah, We sent (messengers) to communities before thee, but Satan made their conduct seem fair to them ; he is their patron to-day, and in store for them is a punishment painful.
66. We have sent down the Book to thee only in order that thou mayest make clear to them that in which they differ, and as a guidance and a mercy to a people who believe.

A considerably later addition to the " sign "-address, perhaps intended specially for Bedouin.

72. Allah hath created you, afterwards He will call you in,[1] though some of you are kept back to the most abject state of life [2] so that after having had knowledge they know not anything ; verily Allah is knowing, powerful.
73. Allah hath given some of you preference over others in regard to provisions ; but those who have been given preference do not so render their provisions to those whom their right hands hold [3] that they in that respect

[1] At death. [2] Old age. [3] Their slaves.

dumb, having no power over anything, a weariness to his master, wheresoever he sends him he brings back no good, is he on the same footing with one who urges justice being set upon a straight path ?

The Hour ; Meccan (?).

79. To Allah belongeth the unseen (future) of the heavens and the earth, and the affair of the Hour is only like a flash of the eye, or it is nearer ; verily Allah over everything hath power.

A sign ; from original address ?

81. Have they not seen the birds, performing their service in the midst of the heaven, no one holding them but Allah ?

Surely in that are signs for a people who believe.

Scraps of various dates.

84. So if they turn away thou art only responsible for the proclamation clear.

85. They recognise the goodness of Allah, then they deny it, and the most of them are the unbelievers.

86. On the day when We raise up from each community a witness, and then no permission (to

are equal ;[1] the goodness of Allah then do they gainsay ?

74. Allah hath appointed for you of yourselves spouses, and from your spouses He hath appointed for you sons and ready helpers, and He hath provided for you a share of good things ; in the false then do they believe, and in the goodness of Allah do they disbelieve ;

75. And serve apart from Allah what hath no power to provide for them anything from the heavens or the earth, and are utterly incapable ?

80. Allah hath brought you forth from the bellies of your mothers not knowing anything, and hath appointed for you hearing and sight, and hearts ; mayhap ye will be thankful.

82. Allah hath appointed for you from your houses[2] a rest, and from the skins of the cattle He hath appointed for you houses,[2] which are light for you on the day ye strike them and the day ye set them up, and from their wools and their furs and their hair, furnishings and comfort for a season.

83. Allah hath appointed for you from the things He hath created

[1] The sense is unclear owing to the indefinite reference of "they." The simplest interpretation is that as men do not treat all their slaves alike, so God does not treat men alike.

[2] Tents.

speak) is given to those who have disbelieved, and they are not asked for their approval. . . .

87. When those who have done wrong see the punishment, it will not be lightened for them, nor will they be respited.

88. When those who have associated (others with Allah) see their associate-gods, they will say: "O our Lord, these are our associate-gods, upon whom we used to call apart from Thee"; but they will retort upon them: "Lo, ye are speaking falsely."
89. They will offer to make peace with Allah that day, and astray from them will go what they have been inventing.

The Jews (?); Medinan.

90. Those who have disbelieved and turned (people) aside from the way of Allah—We have added to them punishment upon punishment for the corruption they have been causing.

Connection not certain.

91. On the day when We raise up in every community a witness regarding them from amongst themselves; We have brought thee as a witness regarding these (people), and have sent down to thee the Book as an explanation of everything and as guidance and mercy and good tidings to the Moslems.

shade, and from the mountains He hath appointed for you refuges, and He hath appointed for you coats to protect you from the heat, and coats to protect you from each others' violence; thus doth He perfect His goodness upon you, mayhap ye will become Moslems.

Allah's demands; followed v. 83.

92. Verily Allah commandeth justice and kindness, and giving to kindred, and He forbiddeth indecency and disreputable conduct and greed; He admonisheth you, mayhap ye will be reminded.
93. Fulfil the covenant of Allah when ye have taken it, and do not violate oaths after their confirmation, and your having set Allah as guarantor over you; assuredly Allah knoweth what ye do.

Recitation of the Qur'ān ; early Medinan or late Meccan.

100. When thou recitest the Qur'ān, take refuge with Allah from Satan, the stoned.[1]

101 Verily he has no authority over those who have believed, and upon their Lord do set their trust.

102. His authority is only over those who take him as patron, and those who with Him[2] do associate (other gods).

Alterations in Qur'ān ; Medinan.

103. When We substitute one verse for another—Allah knoweth best what He sendeth down —they say : " Thou art simply an inventor " ; nay, most of them have not knowledge.

Revelation of Qur'ān ; early Medinan.

104. Say : " The Spirit of Holiness has sent it down from thy Lord in truth, that it may confirm those who have believed, and as a guidance and good tidings to the Moslems."

Muhammad being coached ; early Medinan or late Meccan.

105. We know pretty well that

Keeping of oaths ; perhaps earlier, now repeated.

94. Be not like her who unravelled her thread into untwisted strands after it was strong,[3] regarding your oaths as merely intrigue amongst you that ye may be a community more numerous than another ; Allah is simply testing you thereby, and assuredly He will make clear to you on the resurrection-day that in regard to which ye have been differing.

95. If Allah had so willed, He would have made you one community, but He leadeth astray whom He willeth and guideth whom He willeth, and assuredly, ye will be asked about what ye have been doing.

The same ; perhaps addressed to Jews earlier, now repeated with different ending.

96. Do not regard your oaths as merely intrigue amongst you, so that a foot slip after it has been set firm, and ye taste evil for having turned (people) aside from the way of Allah, and for you there be (in store) a punishment mighty.

97. Do not purchase small value at the expense of the covenant

[1] Or " accursed."

[2] It is probable that the pronoun refers to Allah, the phrase being a stereotyped one.

[3] The phrase ought to refer to a definite person ; Margoliouth suggests Penelope, which is rather improbable. It is possible, however, that the reference is indefinite.

they say: "It is only a human being who teaches him"; the speech of him they hint at is foreign, but this is Arabic speech clear.

Unbelievers will be punished; early Medinan.

106. Verily those who do not believe in the signs of Allah, Allah will not guide, and for them is (in store) a punishment painful.

They are the inventors; Medinan.

107. It is really those who do not believe in the signs of Allah who invent falsehood; it is they who speak falsely.

of Allah; verily what is with Allah is better for you, if ye have come to have knowledge.

98. What is with you fails, but what is with Allah remains, and assuredly, We shall recompense those who have endured their reward for the best of what they have been doing.

99. Whoever does uprightly, male or female, being a believer We shall, surely cause to live a good life, and We shall recompense them their reward for the best of what they have been doing.

Against backsliding; fairly early Medinan, repeated as part of preceding address, and perhaps intermediately with 109 *and* 110 *as alternative endings.*

108. Whoever disbelieves in Allah after having believed—except him who is compelled, his heart being still at peace in belief—; but whoever relieves his soul[1] by unbelief—upon them is anger from Allah, and for them is (in store) punishment mighty.

Emigrants welcomed; Medinan.

111. Then, verily, thy Lord to those who have emigrated after having been tried and who then have striven and endured, verily thy Lord thereafter is forgiving, compassionate.

109. That is because they have loved the life of this world more than the Hereafter, and because Allah doth not guide the unbelieving people.

112. On the day when each one will come arguing in defence of

110. These are they upon whose hearts and hearing and sight

[1] Lit. "expands his breast."

himself, and each one will be fully paid what he has wrought and they will not be wronged.

Jewish food restrictions; early Medinan.

119. To those who judaised, We forbad what We have recounted to thee formerly; We did not wrong them, but themselves they were wronging.
120. Then, verily, thy Lord to those who have wrought evil in ignorance, then afterwards have repented and acted uprightly—verily thy Lord thereafter is forgiving, compassionate.

Example of Abraham.

121. Verily Abraham was a community[1] devout towards Allah—a Ḥanīf, but he was not of the polytheists,—
122. Showing thankfulness for His good gifts; He chose him and guided him to a straight path.
123. We bestowed upon him in this world a goodly (portion), and verily, in the Hereafter he is among the upright.
124. Then We suggested to thee: "Follow the creed of Abraham, as a Ḥanīf, and he was not of the polytheists."

The Sabbath.

125. The Sabbath was only appointed for those who have Allah hath put a seal; these are the neglectful.
There is not a doubt that in the Hereafter they are the losers.

Warning against unbelief, (from example of Mecca?).

113. Allah hath coined a comparison—a town which was secure and at peace, to which its provision came comfortably from every place, which then showed itself unthankful for the good gifts of Allah; so Allah caused it to experience the garment of hunger and fear for what they had been doing.
114. There came to them a messenger from among themselves, and they accused him of falsehood, so the punishment seized upon them while they were doing wrong.

Food laws.

115. So eat of what Allah hath provided you with as allowable and good, and show thankfulness for the goodness of Allah, if Him ye serve.
116. He hath forbidden you only what is (found) dead, blood, swine's flesh, and that over which any other than the name of Allah has been invoked; but if anyone is compelled, without undue desire or deliberate transgression—verily Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

[1] The use of the word *umma* here is peculiar, but is probably similar to that in ii. 128 and 135; the sense is perhaps something like "a religious type."

differed in regard to it; verily thy Lord will certainly judge between them on the resurrection-day as to that in regard to which they have been differing.

Exhortation to the Prophet.

126. Summon to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and goodly admonition, and argue against them with what is better; verily thy Lord best knoweth him who errs from His way, and He best knoweth those who let themselves be guided.

128a. And endure patiently, but thy (power of) enduring patiently is only in Allah; grieve not over them and be not in distress because of the plots they lay.

117. And do not say, because of the false talking of your tongues: "This is allowable and this is forbidden," that ye may invent falsehood about Allah; verily those who invent falsehood about Allah, will not prosper.

118. A little enjoyment of life and for them is (in store) punishment painful.

Retaliation.

127. If ye take vengeance, take it only in the measure that vengeance was taken from you; but, assuredly if ye endure patiently, it is better for those who patiently endure.

128b. Verily Allah is with those who show piety, and those who are well-doers.

SURAH XVII

The basis of this surah was probably Meccan, but much of it seems to belong to the early Medinan period. Verse 1, the famous verse of the Night-journey, stands isolated, and has no connection with what follows. It would connect better with vv. 103 ff., which may at one time have stood here, and after undergoing several revisions, have been discarded in favour of vv. 2–8, which are certainly Medinan. They may have been written on the back of the disjointed passage, vv. 9–16. The context of vv. 17, 18 is not clear, but they show signs of Medinan phraseology, and may be related to vv. 2–8 as a hint of the destruction of the Jewish "towns." Vv. 19–22, which perhaps show the influence of Matt. vi. 1–6, are out of connection, and may perhaps have been used for the insertion of vv. 17, 18. Vv. 23–40 are a sort of imitation of the Decalogue. The original prohibitions were in the second person singular, and, to judge by v. 41 which forms the conclusion of the passage, were addressed to the prophet. These were no doubt Meccan, but inserted amongst them are others addressed to the people, which were probably added later (in Medina ?). Verse 42, dealing with angel-worship, is also addressed to the people and may have been added at the same time. In vv. 43–46 we seem also to have a passage addressed to the prophet, with an addition, 46, addressed to the people. From here onward to v. 68 we have a series of rather unconnected passages, Meccan or early Medinan, which have been revised for inclusion in the surah. The passage, vv. 69–74, is again disjointed, and occupies about the same space as vv. 75–79, 80–83—more exactly if we regard v. 79 as a later insertion, and 83 as a later alternative to 82. These passages are usually regarded as Meccan, but if they were written on the back of 69–74, they must be early Medinan. So also the passage dealing with the Qur'ān, vv. 84–86, 90–101, which probably stood on the back of vv. 87, 88, 89, and 102–111, which consist of disjointed passages. The position of 100, 101 is a little doubtful. They seem to connect with 99, but they might be earlier and detached; cf. v. 52: in which case, they should stand on the left of the page before v. 102.

Sūrat al-Isrā'—Chapter of the Night-journey.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The Night-journey ; Meccan.

1. Glory be to Him who journeyed by night with His servant from the Sacred Mosque [1] to the Furthest Mosque [2] around which We have bestowed blessing, that We might show him some of Our signs ; verily He is the One who hears and sees.

The Qur'ān as guidance ; perhaps same time as v. 1.

9. Verily this Qur'ān guides to what is straighter, and brings good tidings to the believers,
10. Who do the deeds of righteousness, that for them is a great reward,
11. And that for those who do not believe in the Hereafter, We have prepared a punishment painful.

12. Let man pray [3] for evil as he prays for good ; man is apt to be hasty.

13. We appointed the night and the day as two signs, and We wiped out the sign of the night [4] and appointed the sign of the day to let you see, that ye might seek bounty from your Lord, and

A Warning to the Jews ; Medinan.

2. We gave Moses the Book and appointed it as guidance for the Children of Israel : " Take apart from Me no trustee,
3. O posterity of those whom We carried with Noah ; [5] verily he was a servant, grateful."
4. And We decreed for the Children of Israel in the Book : " Surely ye shall cause corruption in the earth twice over,[6] and ye shall go a great length.[7]
5. When the promise of the first of them comes (to fulfilment) We shall send against you servants of Ours, endowed with fierce warlike spirit, and they shall search among the houses and it shall be a promise fulfilled.
6. Then We shall give the turn (of mastery) to you over them

[1] The Ka'ba. [2] Probably the temple at Jerusalem.

[3] Or with addition of a letter, " But man prays," in which case the verse might join to the preceding.

[4] Probably refers simply to the disappearance of night at the coming of day.

[5] In the ark.

[6] It is difficult to say what exactly is referred to. The whole is put down as prophesied in the Book, and the punishment for the second time is still to come and may be averted (v. 8). It must, therefore, refer to their conduct in Muhammad's own time. Whether the first time refers to that preceding the Exile or the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus is uncertain.

[7] Lit. " rise to a great height."

that ye might know the number of the years and the reckoning, and everything have We set out distinctly.

14. Every man's bird (of omen) have We fastened on his neck, and We shall bring forth to him on the resurrection-day a book[1] which he will meet spread open :
15. "Read thy book; against thyself thou art to-day sufficient accountant."

16. Whosoever lets himself be guided does so to his own benefit, and whosoever goes astray, does so to his own hurt; no burden-bearer bears the burden of another; We have not been accustomed to punish until We have sent a messenger.

Every one gets his reward; early Medinan (?).

19. If anyone is desirous of (the world) that hastes away, We hasten to him therein what We will to whomsoever We wish, then We appoint for him Gehenna in which to roast, reviled and banished.
20. If anyone is desirous of the Hereafter and runs its proper race, being a believer—these are they whose running is gratefully accepted.

again, and We shall reinforce you with wealth and children and make you more numerous in concourse.
7. 'If ye do well, for your own benefit ye do well; if ye do evil, it is to your own hurt.' So when the promise of the second comes (to fulfilment), that they may disgrace you and may enter the sanctuary as they entered it the first time, and whatever they set foot on may utterly destroy,
8. It may be that your Lord will have mercy upon you; if ye turn back, We shall turn back, but We have appointed Gehenna for the unbelievers a prison."

Connection doubtful; but probably Medinan.

17. When We intend to destroy a town, We command its affluent people and they act viciously therein, so that the sentence against them is justified; then We destroy it utterly.
18. How many generations did We destroy after Noah? Sufficient is thy Lord as One who of the sins of His servants is aware and observant.

21. To all—these and those—We extend some of the giving of thy Lord, the giving of thy Lord has not become restrained.

[1] Here in the sense of the book of record of man's deeds.

22. See how We have given them preference one over the other, but the Hereafter has greater degrees (of honour) and greater preferment.

Duties of Believers ; may perhaps originally have followed vv. 9–11 ; *Meccan, with Medinan additions.*

23. Set not up along with Allah another god and so sit reviled and forsaken.
24. Thy Lord hath decreed that ye shall not serve any but Him. And with parents (exercise) kindness, whether one or both of them attain old age with thee ; say not to them : " Pooh ! " and do not scold them but speak to them respectfully ;
25. Bear thyself humbly towards them [1] out of compassion, and say : " My Lord, have mercy upon them as they brought me up when young."
26. Your Lord knoweth well what is in your hearts, if ye be upright,
27. and verily He is to the prayerful [2] forgiving.
28. Give to the kinsman his right, and to the poor, and the follower of the way, but do not squander at all ;
29. Verily the squanderers are the brothers of the satans and Satan is to his Lord unthankful.
30. And if perchance thou turnest from them, because of a mercy from thy Lord which thou hast in prospect, speak to them gently.
31. Neither keep thy hand chained to thy neck,[3] nor spread it wide open and so sit blamed and impoverished.
32. Verily thy Lord giveth provision freely to whomsoever He willeth, or measureth it out ; verily of His servants He is well-informed, observant.
33. Do not kill your children for fear of want ; We provide for them and you ; the killing of them has become a great sin.
34. Avoid fornication, verily it has become an indecency, and is bad as a way.
35. Do not kill the person whom Allah hath made inviolable except with justification ; if anyone is killed wrongfully, We give to his next-of-kin authority, but let him not be extravagant in killing ; verily he has been helped.[4]
36. Touch not the property of the orphan, except in a way that will

[1] Lit. " lower to them the wing of humility."
[2] Lit. " those who habitually resort (to Him)." [3] *I.e.* " be niggardly."
[4] Probably refers to the avenger, who has now religious sanction to support him.

improve it, until he attain full age; and fulfil the covenant, verily, a covenant is a thing for which one is responsible.[1]

37. Give full measure when ye measure and weigh with just balance; that is best and of best interpretation.

38. Do not follow up that of which thou hast no knowledge; verily hearing and sight and heart, all these have become things for which one is responsible.[1]

39. Do not walk boisterously upon the earth; verily thou wilt not make a hole in the earth, nor yet reach the mountains in stature.

40. The evil of all that has become to thy Lord distasteful.

41. That is some of the Wisdom which thy Lord hath suggested to thee, set not up along with Allah another god and so be cast into Gehenna blamed and banished.

42. Hath then your Lord distinguished you with sons, and taken for Himself from the angels females? Surely it is a mighty thing for you to say.

Purpose of the Qur'ān; early Medinan (?).

43. We have turned (things) about in this Qur'ān, that they may be reminded, but it only increases them in boggling.

Argument against Polytheism; possibly connects to 43; *with a later addition.*

44. Say: "If there were along with Him (other) gods, as ye say, they would, in that case, seek to the possessor of the throne a way."[2]

45. Glory be to Him and exalted be He above what they say a great height!

46. The seven heavens and the earth and whoever is in them give glory to Him; there is nothing that does not give glory in His praise, but ye understand not their giving glory; verily He is mild, forgiving.

Unbelievers' aversion to the Qur'ān; Meccan (?), altered in Medina.

47. When thou recitest the Qur'ān, We place between thee and those who do not believe in the Hereafter a curtain drawn-down,

48. We place upon their hearts veils so that they do not understand it, and in their ears heaviness;

52. They say: "When we have become bones and fragments, shall we then be raised up a new creature?"

[1] Lit. "which will be asked (about)."

[2] In a hostile sense; cf. xxiii. 93.

53. Say: "Be stones or iron or any other thing that ye think big."[1] Then they will say: "Who will restore us?" Say: "He who originated you the first time." Then they will wag their heads at you and say: "When will it be?" Say: "Possibly it is near,
54. On the day when He will call you, and ye will respond with His praise, and ye will think that ye have only remained a little while."[2]

49. and when thou mentionest in the Qur'ān thy Lord alone,[3] they turn backwards, boggling (at it).
50. We know best the mood in which they listen, when they listen to thee, and when they gather in a clique when the wrong-doers say: "Ye only follow a man enchanted."
51. See how they strike out comparisons for thee, but they have gone astray, and are not able (to find) a way.

Believers to be conciliatory; late Meccan or early Medinan, v. 56 perhaps later than v. 55.

55. Say to my servants (that) they shall speak that which is best; verily Satan stirs up strife amongst them; Satan has become to man an enemy manifest.
56. "Your Lord knoweth best about you; if He willeth He will have mercy upon you, if He willeth He will punish you." We have not sent thee over them as a trustee.

57. Thy Lord knoweth best whoever is in the heavens and the earth; We have given some of the prophets preference over others, and to David We gave psalms.[4]

Futility of false gods; Meccan, with Medinan addition.

58. Say: "Call upon those whom ye allege apart from Him; they have no power to remove the distress from you or to bring about any change."

60. There is no town but We are going to destroy it before the resurrection-day, or punish it with a severe punishment;

59. Those whom they call upon themselves seek access to their Lord, which of them may be nearest, and they hope for His

[1] Lit. "that is big in your breasts."
[2] In the grave.
[3] Or "His unity"; but there may be a reference to the Jewish aversion to familiar use of the name of God.
[4] Or "a Scripture."

that is in the Book, written down.

mercy and fear His punishment; verily the punishment of thy Lord is a thing to be guarded against.

Why signs are not given to Muhammad; probably Meccan, but added to in Medina; v. 62 perhaps not a unity.

61. Nothing has prevented Us sending the signs, but that the people of long ago counted them false; We caused the she-camel to come to Thamūd as an ocular proof, but they did her wrong;
We send not the signs except to frighten.

62. (Recall) when We said to thee: "Verily thy Lord hath encompassed the people";[1] We did not intend the vision[2] which We showed thee to be anything but a test for the people,
and the tree cursed in the Qur'ān[3]; We frighten them,
but it only increases them in arrogance great.

Story of Iblīs; late Meccan or early Medinan, with later alteration.

63. (Recall) when We said to the angels: "Do obeisance to Adam," and they did obeisance, (all) except Iblīs; he said: "Shall I do obeisance to one whom Thou hast created of clay?"

64. He said: "What thinkest Thou—this (creature) whom Thou hast honoured above me—if Thou allowest me time, till the resurrection-day, I shall certainly gobble up his posterity except a few?"

65. He said: "Go, and if any of them follow thee, then Gehenna is your recompence, a recompence ample.

67. Verily over My servants thou hast no authority; thy Lord is sufficient trustee.

68. Your Lord it is who driveth forward the ship for you in the sea that ye may seek His bounty; verily He hath become towards you compassionate.

66. Startle with thy voice any of them that thou canst; assemble against them thy horse and thy foot; make them partners in wealth and children, and make promises to them"; but Satan promises them nothing but illusion.

[1] This does not occur literally in the Qur'ān, but cf. lxxxv. 20.

[2] Sometimes regarded as referring to v. 1; or to the visions in liii.; cf. also viii. 45; but it may refer to something not mentioned in the Qur'ān.

[3] Probably refers to the tree of Zaqqūm; cf. xxxvii. 60, xliv. 43, lvi. 52.

Allah's help and man's ingratitude; perhaps early, with rhymes added; joins to 68.

69. When distress comes upon you on the sea, those whom ye call upon are astray, (all) except Him; but when He hath brought you safely to land, ye turn away; man has become ungrateful.

70. Are ye sure then that He will not sink the shore with you, or send a sand-storm upon you, and then ye will not find for yourselves a trustee?

71. Or are ye sure that He will not send you back on to it another time, and send upon you a hurricane of wind, and drown you for your unthankfulness; and then ye will not find for yourselves against Us any follower of it up? [1]

72. We have honoured the Children of Adam, and carried them by land and by sea, have provided them with good things, and have given them over many of those whom We have created great preference.

.....

73. On the day when We shall call all men with their model,[2] then whoever is given his book in

Muhammad tempted to compromise; early Medinan (?).

75. Verily they nearly tempted thee from that which We suggested to thee that thou mightest invent about Us something else; and in that case they had taken thee as a friend.

76. Had it not been that We made thee stand firm, thou hadst almost leaned towards them a little.

77. In that case We should have made thee taste the double of life and the double of death, and then thou wouldst not find against Us a helper.

78. And, verily, they nearly startled thee from the land that they might expel thee from it; and in that case they will not remain after thee except a little (while).

79. This is the custom in regard to those whom We have sent before thee of Our messengers, and thou wilt not find in Our custom any change.

The prophet to continue in piety.

80. Observe the Prayer at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night, and the recitation at the dawn;—verily the recitation at the dawn is well-attested—

[1] To help, or to avenge.

[2] Lit. "Imām," may refer to their prophet, but more probably to the book of record.

his right hand—they will read their book and will not be wronged a straw.
74. But he who is blind in this (life) will be blind in the Hereafter and far astray from the way.

The Spirit; early Medinan (?).

87. They ask thee about the Spirit; say: "The Spirit belongs to my Lord's affair, but ye have not knowledge bestowed upon you except a little."

Revelation may be withheld.

88. If We so will, We shall assuredly take away that which We have suggested to thee; then thou wilt not find therefor against Us a trustee,
89. Except as a mercy from thy Lord; verily His bounty towards thee has been great.

Niggardliness; early Medinan?

102. Say: "If it were you who had in your power the treasuries of the mercy of my Lord, you would in that case keep a firm grip for fear of expense; man is parsimonious."

81. And part of the night; keep vigil therein as an extra for thyself; it may be that thy Lord will raise thee up in a position belauded.
82. And say: "O my Lord, give me a proper entrance and a proper outgoing, and appoint for me from thy side such authority as will aid me."
83. And say: "The truth has come and the false has vanished; verily the false is apt to vanish."

The Qur'ān not appreciated.

84. What We send down of the Qur'ān is healing and mercy to the believers, but it only increases the wrong-doers in loss.
85. When We bestow good upon a man, he turns away and moves aside; but when evil touches him, he falls into despair.
86. Say: "Each one acts according to his own manner; but your Lord knoweth best who is best guided as to the way."

Excellence of the Qur'ān and people's unbelief.

90. Say: "Verily if men and jinn agree to produce the like of this Qur'ān, they will not produce the like of it though one to the other were backer."
91. We have turned about for

Mission of Moses; late Meccan (?) may possibly have followed v. 1.

103. We gave Moses nine signs as Evidences—ask the children of Israel.
(Recall) When he came to them and Pharaoh said to him: "O Moses, I think thee enchanted,"
104. He said: "Surely, thou knowest, no one has sent down these but the Lord of the heavens and the earth, as demonstrations; surely, O Pharaoh, I think thee outcast."
105. So he wished to startle them from the land, but We drowned him and those with him all together.
106. Thereafter, We said to the Children of Israel: "Dwell in the land, and when the promise of the Hereafter comes, We shall bring you all in a bunch."

And in truth it has come down, and We have not sent thee but as a bringer of good tidings and a warner.

and in truth We have sent it down, 107. and a Qur'ān which We have divided that thou mayest recite it to the people at intervals,[1] and have sent it down by revelation.[2]

108. Say: "Believe it or believe it not, verily those upon whom (revealed) knowledge has the people in this Qur'ān every kind of similitude, but the majority of the people refuse anything but ingratitude.
92. They say: "We shall not give thee credence till thou causest for us to bubble up from the earth a spring;
93. Or until thou hast a garden of palm and vine, and thou cause in the midst of it rivers to gush forth;
94. Or until thou causest the heaven to fall upon us in fragments as thou hast said, or thou producest Allah and the angels assenting.[3]
95. Or until thou hast a house of ornamental work, or thou ascendest into the heaven, nor shall we give credence to thy ascent until thou bringest down to us a writing which we may read." Say: "Glory be to my Lord! am I anything but a human being (sent) as a messenger?"

Objection to a human messenger.

96. Nothing prevents the people from believing when the guidance has come to them, but that they say: "Hath Allah sent a human being as messenger?"
97. Say: "If there were in the earth angels walking about contentedly, We should send down to them from the heaven an angel as messenger."

[1] Lit. "with delay."
[2] Lit. "a sending down"—the infinitive emphasises the sense of the verb.
[3] Or possibly "before" our eyes.

previously been bestowed, when it is recited to them
fall down on their chins in prostration and say: 'Glory be to our Lord! the promise of our Lord has come to be fulfilled.'"

109. fall down on their chins weeping, and it increaseth them in humility."

Allah or ar-Raḥmān optional names; Meccan (?).

110. Say: "Call upon Allah or call upon ar-Raḥmān; whichsoever ye call upon is entitled to the most beautiful names"; and do not shout thy prayer publicly, nor yet speak it low in secret, but seek between these a (middle) way.

111. Say: "Praise be to Allah who hath not taken to Himself offspring, to whom there has never been any partner in the sovereignty, nor any protector from abasement"; magnify Him frequently.

98. Say: "Allah is sufficient witness between you and me; verily in regard to His servants He is well-informed, observant."

99. Whom Allah guideth, he is the (rightly) guided; whom He sendeth astray—thou wilt not find for them any patrons apart from Him. We shall gather them on the resurrection-day on their faces, blind, dumb, and deaf, Gehenna their abiding-place, whenever it dies down, We shall add to their burning.

100. That is their recompence for disbelieving in Our signs, and saying: "When we have become bones and fragments, shall we then be raised up a new creature?"

101. Have they not seen that Allah who hath created the heavens and the earth is able to create their like? He hath set for them a term of which there is no doubt, but the wrong-doers have refused everything but unbelief.

SURAH XVIII

The introduction to this surah, vv. 1–4, is Medinan in origin, but has been revised, new rhyme-phrases being attached to vv. 1 and 2 and vv. 3, 4, directed against Christians, being added. Vv. 5–8, leading up to the story of the Seven Sleepers, probably belong to the same time as the revision. But the story had an earlier basis. This appears in vv. 9–11, which have been discarded and a new version substituted, vv. 12–20a. There are some signs that phrases from an earlier version are incorporated in this, but whether these come from a continuation of vv. 9–11 or from some intermediate one, is difficult to say, though vv. 9–11 seem fairly complete in themselves, and apparently date from the time when the length of time between death and the resurrection was an objection which Muhammad had to meet. That the attempt to use this story placed him in difficulties is evident from vv. 20b–25 which were probably never intended to be published. From here on to v. 44 we have a fairly continuous passage, probably earlier than the final form of the introduction and the story of the Seven Sleepers. Vv. 45–51 are discontinuous and v. 52 refers to the parables contained in 31 ff. and 43 ff. Vv. 52–58 are therefore probably a slightly later insertion, written on the back of 45–51. The story of Moses here told is quite different from other accounts of Moses found in the Qur'ān, and must be either late Meccan or very early Medinan. It may belong to the same time as the first form of the story of the Seven Sleepers. The story of Dhū l-Qarnain may, as A. Mueller suggests, have been introduced because of the questions of some who recognised in the story of Moses and al-Khidr elements from the legend of Alexander the Great. Vv. 86, 87 are almost certainly Medinan, but they are longer than the rest and are possibly a later insertion. The use of *mufsidūn* " working corruption " in v. 93 perhaps indicates a Medinan date for the whole story, and this would be confirmed if we could be sure that it was written on the back of the scraps contained in vv. 99–110.

Sūrat al-Kahf—Chapter of the Cave.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The Book and its purpose ; early Medinan, revised.

1. The praise belongs to Allah, who hath sent down upon His servant the Book as a norm
and hath not set in it any crookedness,
2. That he may give warning of a violent attack from His side, and may give good tidings to the believers who work the works of righteousness, that for them is a fine reward,
in which they shall remain for ever ;
3. And may warn those who say : "Allah hath taken to Himself offspring."
4. They have no (revealed) knowledge of it, nor had their fathers ; it is a serious thing as a word that proceeds from their mouths ; they only speak falsehood.

Legend of the Seven Sleepers ; Meccan (?).

9. (Recall) when the youths betook themselves to the cave, and said : "O our Lord, cause a mercy from Thyself to come to us and prepare for us of our affair a right (arrangement)."
10. So We sealed up their ears[1] in the cave for years a number.
11. Then We raised them up that We might know which of the two sects was best at reckon-

Prophet not to worry at unbelief ; same time as revision of above.

5. Perhaps, if[2] they believe not this discourse,[3] thou art going to exhaust thyself following them up out of worry.
6. Verily We have appointed what is on the earth as an adornment for it, in order that We may try them which of them is best in deed.
7. But assuredly We are going to make what is on it dry[4] and barren.
8. Or didst thou think that the

[1] Lit. "struck upon their ears," usually interpreted as meaning "put to sleep," but it is perhaps worth considering whether the sense is not that a number was actually stamped upon their ears.

[2] Or reading *an* instead of *in*, "because."

[3] Referring to Muhammad's teaching, or perhaps "story," referring to the legend following.

[4] Lit. "high," used of a sandy height.

ing for the time they had remained a period.

men of the cave and ar-Raqīm [1] were among Our signs a wonder ?

Revised story of the Seven Sleepers ; continuous with v. 8 *; possibly based on a version intermediate between it and vv.* 9–11.

12. We shall recount to thee the report of them in truth. They were young men who believed in their Lord, and We increased them in guidance ;
13. And We braced their hearts. They stood up and said : " Our Lord is the Lord of the heavens and the earth ; we will not call upon any god short of Him ; in that case we should speak an outrageous thing.
14. These people of ours have taken for themselves gods short of Him —if only they would produce a clear authorisation regarding them ! Who then does greater wrong than he who devises about Allah falsehood ?
15. See now ! ye have withdrawn from them and what they serve, except Allah ; so betake yourselves to the cave, your Lord will display to you some of His mercy, and will prepare for you of your affair a kindly arrangement."
16. One would see the sun when it rose inclining from their cave towards the right and when it set passing them by on the left, while they were in an open part of it ; that is one of the signs of Allah ; whom Allah guideth, he is the (rightly) guided ; whom He sendeth astray, thou wilt not find for him a patron to set him right.
17. One would think them awake as they lay, and We were turning them over right and left, their dog lying with forepaws stretched out on the threshold ; if one had observed them he would have turned from them in flight, and been filled because of them with dread.
18. Thus We raised them up, that they might question among themselves ; one of them said : " How long have ye remained ? " they said : " We have remained a day, or part of a day." They said : " Your Lord knoweth best how long ye have remained ; send one of you with this paper (money) of yours to the town, and let him

[1] Much difference of opinion prevails as to the identity of ar-Raqīm, some holding it to be the name of the mountain or the village associated with them, others that it is the name of the dog. Torrey suggests that it is a misreading of Decius as written in Hebrew characters ; E. G. Browne, *Oriental Studies*, p. 459.

see which part of it is purest in food, and let him bring you a supply of it ; let him be courteous and let not know of you anyone,

19. If they get the upper hand of you, they will stone you or make you return to their creed, and in that case ye will not prosper ever."

20a. Thus We caused (people) to stumble upon them, that they might know that the promise of Allah is true, and that in regard to the Hour there is no doubt.

Discrepant information ; private notes, perhaps earlier than above.

20b. See, they are disputing about their affair among themselves. They said : " Erect over them a building." Their Lord knoweth best about them. Those who prevailed in their affair said : " Assuredly, we shall choose (to build) over them a place of worship."

21. They will say : " Three and their dog," and they will say : " Five and their dog," making conjectural statements ;[1] and they will say : " Seven and their dog." Say : " My Lord knoweth their number best " ; there know them only a few.

22. So do not dispute in regard to them except on a plain issue ; and do not ask a deliverance about them from any one of them.

23. And do not say with regard to anything : " I am going to do that to-morrow," except (with the reservation) that Allah so will ; and make mention of thy Lord when thou dost forget, and say : " Possibly my Lord will guide me to something nearer the truth than this."

24. They remained in their cave three hundred years and nine more.

25. Say : " Allah knoweth best how long they remained " ; to Him belongeth the unseen in the heavens and the earth. How well He sees and hears ! Short of Him they have no patron, and He maketh no one partner in His rule.

Encouragement to proceed with his work ; early Medinan.

26. Recite what has been put into thy mind of the Book of thy Lord ; no one can alter His words ; short of Him thou wilt find no covert.

27. And content thyself with those who call upon their Lord in the morning and the evening desiring His countenance, and let not thine eyes rove from them desiring the adornment of this present life, and obey not anyone whose heart We have made neglectful of Our remembrance, but who follows his own desire, and is a bounder.[2]

[1] Lit. " throwing stones at the unseen."

[2] Lit. " whose affair is excess."

28. And say: "The truth is from your Lord; so who wills let him believe and who wills let him disbelieve"; verily We have prepared for the wrong-doers a Fire, the awnings of which have encompassed them, and if they call for aid [1] they will be sprinkled with water like molten metal which will broil their faces; a bad drink, and a bad place to lie in!
29. But those who have believed and done the works of righteousness —verily We do not allow to go lost the reward of any who do well in deed.
30. For these are Gardens of Eden with the rivers flowing beneath them in which they will be adorned with bracelets of gold, and wear green garments of satin and brocade, reclining therein on the couches; a good reward and a good place to lie in!

Parable against confidence in wealth; c. same date.

31. Coin for them a parable:—two men, to one of whom We appointed two gardens of vines, and surrounded both of them with palm trees and set in the space between them cultivated land; each of the two gardens produced its edible (fruit) and did wrong in no part thereof.
32. And We caused to bubble up between them a river and he had fruit.[2] So he said to his friend in discussion with him: "I have more wealth than thou, and am more influential in retinue." [3]
33. He entered his garden, doing wrong to himself; he said: "I do not think that this will ever perish;
34. Nor do I think the Hour is coming; and surely if I am taken back to my Lord, I shall find something better than it in exchange."
35. Said his friend, in discussion with him: "Hast thou disbelieved in Him who created thee from dust, and then from semen, and then gave thee form as a man?
36. But He is Allah, my Lord; with my Lord I will not associate anyone.
37. Why, when thou enteredst thy garden, didst thou not say: 'As Allah willeth! There is no strength but in Allah!'? If thou thinkest me inferior to thee in wealth and children,
38. Possibly my Lord will give me something better than thy garden,

[1] Or "for moisture," but perhaps there is a sort of pun on the two roots *ghyth* and *ghwth*.

[2] Or, with a change of vowel, "wealth," apart from the garden, which, in any case, is the usual interpretation.

[3] Or "family"; cf. v. 37.

or send upon it a reckoning[1] from the heaven, so that it become a dry and slippery height;

39. Or its water may go deep underground, so that thou wilt not be able to trace it."

40. His fruit was encompassed, and he was found turning down the palms of his hands over what he had spent upon it, for it had collapsed upon its trellises, and saying: "O would that I had not associated with my Lord anyone!"

41. Short of Allah there was no party to help him, and he was helpless.

42. There the right of protection belongs to Allah, the Truth; He is best in reward, and best in the final issue.

Parable of the uncertainty of this life; same date.

43. Coin for them a parable of the nearer life: (it is) like water which We send down from the heaven, then the vegetation of the earth becomes mingled with it, then one morning it becomes broken stuff which the winds scatter; Allah has become over all things empowered.

44. Wealth and sons are the adornment of the nearer life, but the things which remain, the works of righteousness, are in thy Lord's eyes better in the matter of reward, and better in expectation.

A Judgment-scene; Meccan (?); middle of 47, *perhaps later.*

45. On the day when We shall cause the mountains to move, and one will see the earth stepping forward,
And We shall round them up and leave of them not one;

46. And they shall be mustered before thy Lord in ranks,
"Ye have come to Us as We created you the first time;
Nay, but ye asserted that We had set for you no tryst."

47. And the Book[2] will be placed in position, and one will see the sinners in alarm at

Persistent unbelief and its result; perhaps slightly later.

52. We have turned about for the people in this Qur'ān all kinds of parables, but man is for the most part a caviller.

53. Nothing has prevented the people from believing, now that the guidance has come to them, and from asking pardon of their Lord but that there may come to them what was customary with people of long ago, or that the punishment may come to them beforehand.

54. We do not send the envoys but as bringers of good tidings

[1] Or "thunderbolt."

[2] Here probably the book of record of man's deeds.

what is in it, and saying: "Oh, alas for us! what about this Book which leaves not anything small or great but it has counted it in?" and they shall find what they have wrought present, and thy Lord wrongeth no one.

Idolatry is worship of Iblīs and the Jinn; Meccan (?).

48. (Recall) when We said to the angels: "Do obeisance to Adam," and they did obeisance, (all) but Iblīs; he was one of the jinn and revolted from the command of his Lord; do ye then take him and his progeny as patrons apart from Me though to you they are hostile? Bad for the wrong-doers as an exchange!

49. I made them not witnesses of the creation of the heavens and the earth, nor even of the creation of themselves; nor was I one to choose the seducers as support.

False gods fail their worshippers on Judgment-day; Meccan?

50. On the day of His saying: "Call My partners whom ye have alleged," and they called them and received no response—We have set between them a gulf[1]—

51. The sinners saw the Fire and thought they were about to fall into it, but found from it no loophole.

and warners, but those who have disbelieved cavil with vain words that they may thereby make the truth of no effect, and they have taken My signs and what they are warned of as a butt of mockery.

55. Who does worse wrong than he who having been reminded by the signs of his Lord, has turned from them and forgotten what his hands have sent forward? Verily We have placed veils upon their hearts lest they should understand it, and in their ears heaviness; 56. if thou callest them to the guidance, they will in that case not let themselves be guided ever.

57. But thy Lord is the Forgiving, showing mercy; if He were to take them to task for what they have piled up, He would surely hasten for them the punishment; yet for them is a tryst short of which they will find no place to betake themselves to.

A later addition to 51–57 (?).

58. These towns We destroyed when they did wrong, and We appointed for their destruction a tryst.

[1] Lit. "a place of destruction."

Story of Moses and al-Khidr ; c. same time as 9–11 (*?*).

59. (Recall) when Moses said to his page : " I shall not leave off until I reach the confluence of the two seas, or I shall go on for long."
60. So when they reached the confluence of them they forgot their fish, and it took its way in the sea freely.
61. So when they had passed through, he said to his page : " Bring us our morning-meal, for there has come upon us from this journey of ours fatigue."
62. He said : " Didst thou see when we repaired to the rock ? Lo, I forgot the fish, —it must have been Satan who made me forget to remember it— and it took its way in the sea— a wonder."
63. He said : " That is what we have been desirous of " ; [1] so they returned upon their tracks, retracing.
64. Then they found one of our servants [2] upon whom We had bestowed a mercy from Us, and whom We had taught from Our side knowledge.
65. Moses said to him : " Shall I follow thee on condition that thou teachest me of what thou hast been taught a right (knowledge) ? "
66. He said : " Thou wilt not be capable with me of endurance.
67. How wilt thou endure under that of which thou comprehendest nothing ? "
68. He said : " Thou wilt find me, if Allah will, enduring, and I shall not oppose thee in anything."
69. He said : " If then thou follow me, ask me not of anything, until to thee I introduce of it some mention."
70. So they set off (and went on) until, when they embarked in the ship, he scuttled it ; said he : " Hast thou scuttled it in order to drown the crew ? Surely thou hast committed a grievous thing."
71. He said : " Did I not say that thou wouldst not be capable with me of endurance ? "
72. He said : " Take me not to task for my having forgot, but impose not upon me as part of my affair difficulty."
73. So they set off, (and went on) until when they met a youth and he killed him, he said : " Hast thou taken an innocent life, not in return for a life ? Surely thou hast committed a thing unheard of."

[1] Moses recognises that the water in which the fish came to life was the spring of which he was in search.

[2] Usually said to be al-Khidr; according to Wensinck perhaps to be identified with Elias; *vide E.I.*, article "Ilyās."

74. He said: "Did I not say to thee that thou wouldst not be capable with me of endurance?"
75. He said: "If I ask thee about anything after this, company not with me; from my side thou wilt have had (sufficient) excuse."
76. So they set off (and went on) until, when they came to the people of a town, they asked food from the people of it, but they refused to entertain them. They found in it a wall, ready to fall down, and he set it up. He said: "If thou hadst liked, thou might'st have taken therefor a hire."
77. He said: "This is the parting between me and thee; I shall inform thee of the interpretation of what thou wast not capable of enduring.
78. As for the ship, it belonged to poor men who toil in the sea, and I wished to damage it, for there was behind them a king, taking every ship by force.
79. As for the youth, his parents were believers, and we feared that he might impose upon them arrogance and unbelief.
80. So we desired that their Lord should give them in exchange one better than he in purity, and closer to them in tenderness.
81. As for the wall, it belonged to two orphan youths in the city, and under it was a treasure belonging to them. Their father was an upright man, and thy Lord wished that they should reach full age, and bring forth for themselves their treasure as a mercy from thy Lord. I did it not of mine own command. That is the interpretation of what thou wast not able to endure."

Story of Alexander the Great; later, perhaps Medinan.

82. They ask thee about Dhū l-Qarnain; say: "Of him I shall recite to you some mention."
83. We gave him power in the earth and bestowed upon him to every thing a way of access; then he followed a way of access,
84. Until when he reached the setting of the sun, he found it setting in a muddy spring; and he found beside it a people.
85. We said: "O Dhū l-Qarnain, (it is open to you) either to punish, or to choose among them (the way of) kindness."
86. He said: "As for him who does wrong, we shall punish him, then he will be taken back to his Lord, and He will punish him with punishment unheard of.
87. "But for him who has believed and acted uprightly, there is the

reward of the better (world), and we shall speak to him of our affair something easy."

88. Then he followed a way of access,
89. Until when he reached the rising of the sun, he found it rising upon a people, between whom and it We had placed no veil.
90. So it was; We comprehended well what was with him.
91. Then he followed a way of access,
92. Until when he arrived between the two barriers, he found on this side of them a people who could hardly understand speech.
93. They said: "O Dhū l-Qarnain, Yājūj and Mājūj are working corruption in the earth; shall we pay thee tribute on condition that thou place between us and them a barrier?"
94. He said: "That in which my Lord hath given me power is better; so help me with might and I shall place between you and them a rampart.
95. Bring me lumps of iron"—until when he had evened up between the two mountain-faces, he said: "Blow!" and when he had made it fire, he said: "Bring me and I shall pour upon it molten brass."
96. So they were not able to (mount over the) back (of) it, nor were they able to pierce it.
97. He said: "This is a mercy from my Lord; 98. but when the promise of my Lord comes, He will make it powder, and the promise of my Lord is true."

Part of Judgment-scene; connected with 45–47 (*?*).

99. And We shall leave them on that day surging against each other, and the trumpet shall be blown, and We shall gather them together.
100. On that day We shall set Gehenna for the unbelievers in array,
101. Whose eyes have been blindfolded from the remembrance of Me, and who were not capable of hearing.

Worship of angels (*?*); *original continuation of* 48*a* (*?*).

102. Do then those who have disbelieved reckon that they may take My servants as patrons apart from Me? Verily We have prepared Gehenna for the unbelievers as a reception.

Reply to a taunt of futility; Medinan.

103. Say: "Shall we announce to you who it is who most lose their works,

104. Whose effort goes astray in this present life though they think they are doing well ?
105. It is those who have disbelieved in the signs of their Lord, and in the meeting with Him ; so their works have become fruitless, and We shall attach to them on the resurrection-day no weight.
106. ' That is their recompence—Gehenna—for their having disbelieved and taken My signs and My messengers as a butt of ridicule.' "

Reward of the righteous ; originally added to 102 (*?*).

107. Verily for those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness will be the Gardens of Paradise as a reception,
108. In which to abide, desiring therefrom no change.

Copiousness of revelation ; early Medinan (*?*).

109. Say : " If the sea were ink for the words of my Lord, the sea would give out before the words of my Lord would give out, even if We were to produce another like it as a further supply."

Prophet human, but inspired ; Medinan (*?*).

110. Say : " I am only a human being like yourselves to whom it is suggested that your god is One God ; so whoever looks forward to the meeting with his Lord, let him work righteous work, and let him not give a share of the service of his Lord to anyone."

SURAH XIX

The first part of this surah is devoted to stories of Biblical personages. Fairly full accounts are given of Zechariah, of the Virgin Mary and the birth of Jesus, and of Abraham, but the other stories are little more than notes perhaps intended for future expansion. It is evident that the first two stories at least came from Christian sources. For that of Zechariah, we hardly need to go beyond the first chapter of Luke's Gospel, though, of course, there is no need to assume that Muhammad had direct access to that. The story of the birth of Jesus shows the influence of apocryphal Gospels, notably the Protevangelium Jacobi. The initial letters, and the references to the Book at the beginning of each story, argue that in its present form this part of the surah is Medinan, and there are other indications of the same date. But it seems probable, from variations of rhyme between *-a(n)* and *-iyya(n)* that an earlier version underlay the present form. The passage, vv. 59–64, which follows upon these stories, superficially appears to refer to them, but the end of 59 is not very appropriate as referring to prophets of former times. It looks rather as if a passage from some other connection, which had somehow come to stand at the end of the stories, had been adapted by the addition of a phrase or two to refer to them. The rest of the surah, from v. 65 onward, has no very apparent connection with the stories at the beginning, and seems to be connected in time rather with the original form of 59–64, than with them. If that be so, it must date from a time when the attitude to previous monotheists was still friendly. But we find the same variation of rhyme in this part of the surah, and there are other indications that it contains earlier and later elements.

Sūrat Maryam—Chapter of Mary.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Zechariah and John the Baptist; probably Medinan, founded on an earlier version.

1. Kāf, Hā', Yā', 'Ain, Ṣād.
Mention of the mercy of thy Lord to His servant Zechariah.

2. (Recall) When he called upon his Lord secretly.
3. He said: "O my Lord, the strength has gone from my bone, and my head is lit up with white.
4. But I have not (hitherto) been in my prayer to thee, O my Lord, unfortunate.
5. Verily I have become afraid of the next-of-kin to come after me and my wife is barren; so give me from Thyself a next-of-kin,
6. To inherit me, and to inherit from the family of Jacob, and make him, O my Lord, well-pleasing."
7. "O Zechariah, We give thee good tidings of a boy whose name is Yaḥyā.[1]
8. To whom We have never before appointed a namesake."[2]
9. Said he: "O my Lord, how shall I have a boy, seeing my wife has become barren, and I have reached of age an advanced (degree)?"
10. Said He: "So shall it be! Thy Lord hath said: 'It is easy for Me, seeing I have created thee formerly when thou wert nothing.'"
11. Said he: "O my Lord, appoint for me a sign."
Said He: "Thy sign is that thou shalt not speak to the people for three days[3] exactly."
12. So he came forth to his people from the sanctuary, and signed[4] to them "Give glory morning and evening."
13. "O Yaḥyā, take the Book with power"; and We gave him the jurisdiction as a child.
14. And grace from Our side and purity,[5] and he was pious, and dutiful towards his parents, and was not a tyrant, rebellious.
15. Peace is upon him the day of his birth, and the day of his death, and the day of his being raised up alive.

Mary and Jesus; Medinan, perhaps founded on an earlier version.

16. Make mention in the Book of Mary;
When she withdrew from her people to a place, eastward.
17. And took between herself and them a curtain.[6]
Then We sent to her Our spirit, who took for her the form of a human being, shapely.

[1] Cf. iii. 34. [2] Cf. Luke i. 61. [3] Lit. "nights."
[4] Or "suggested," the word used is the same as that for "suggest" in the sense of to inspire.
[5] *Zakāt*, but probably not here in the technical sense.
[6] Cf. Prot. Ev. Jac. x.

18. She said: "Lo, I take refuge with the Merciful from thee, if thou art pious."
19. He said: "I am the messenger of thy Lord, that I may give thee a boy, pure."
20. She said: "How shall I have a boy, seeing that man hath not touched me, nor have I been a harlot?"
21. He said: "So shall it be! Thy Lord hath said: 'It is easy for Me,' and (it is) in order that We may make him a sign to the people, and a mercy from Us; it has become a thing decided."

22. So she bore him, and withdrew with him to a place far away.
23. The birth-pangs drove her to the trunk of the palm-tree;[1] she said: "Would that I had died before this, and become a forgetting, forgotten."
24. Then he[2] called to her from beneath her:
"Grieve not; thy Lord hath placed beneath thee a streamlet;
25. Shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree,
and it will let fall upon thee juicy (fruit), ripe.
26. So eat and drink and be of good cheer;
and if thou see of mankind any one,
27. Say: 'Verily I have vowed to the Merciful a fast,
and I shall not speak to-day to one of human kind.'"

28. Then she brought him to her people, carrying him; they said: "O Mary, thou hast committed a thing improper;
29. O daughter of Aaron,[3] thy father was not a bad man nor was thy mother a harlot."
30. Then she referred (them) to him;[4] they said: "How shall we speak to one who is in the cradle, a child?"
31. He said: "Lo, I am the servant of Allah; He hath bestowed on me the Book, and hath made me a prophet;
32. And hath made me blessed wherever I am, and hath charged me with the Prayer and the Almsgiving[5] as long as I live;
33. And dutiful towards my mother, nor hath He made me a tyrant, wretched.
34. And peace is upon me the day of my birth, and the day of my death, and the day of my being raised up alive."

[1] For this and what follows, cf. Pseudo-Matt. xx.
[2] Probably "the child."
[3] No doubt rests upon a confusion with Miriam, the sister of Moses.
[4] The child. [5] *Zakāt*, possibly here in the technical sense.

Rejection of Christian doctrine of Sonship ; later insertion.

35. That is Jesus, Son of Mary—a statement of the truth[1] concerning which they are in doubt.
36. It is not for Allah to take to Himself any offspring ; glory be to Him ! when He decides upon a thing, He simply says : " Be ! " and it is.
37. Verily Allah is my Lord and your Lord, so serve Him ; this is a straight path.

Warning to dissentients ; possibly continues vv. 35–37, *more probably detached.*

38. But the sects disagreed among themselves ; so woe to those who have disbelieved because of the witnessing of a mighty day !
39. How quick to hear and see will they be on the day they come to Us ! But the wrong-doers to-day are in manifest error.
40. Warn them of the day of sighing, when the affair is decided while they are still in negligence and still not believing.
41. Verily it is We who inherit the earth and whoever is upon it, and to Us shall they be made to return.

Abraham ; Medinan, but may contain earlier elements.

42. Make mention in the Book of Abraham, verily he was a trusty one, a prophet.
43. When he said to his father : " O my father, why dost thou serve what neither hears nor sees nor profits thee at all ?
44. O my father, verily there has come to me knowledge which has not come to thee ; so follow me, and I shall guide thee a path, smooth.
45. O my father, serve not Satan, verily Satan has become to the Merciful an opponent.
46. O my father, verily I fear lest punishment from the Merciful may touch thee and thou become to Satan a client."
47. He said : " Art thou averse to my gods, O Abraham ? If thou dost not refrain I shall surely stone thee ; avoid me for a long time."
48. He said : " Peace be upon thee ! I shall ask pardon for thee of my Lord ; verily He hath been with me condescending.

[1] Or, with slight change of pointing, " The Word of Truth " ; referring to Jesus.

49. And I shall withdraw from you, and from what ye call upon apart from Allah, and I shall call upon my Lord ; it may be that I shall not be in my calling upon my Lord unfortunate."
50. When then he withdrew from them and from what they served apart from Allah, We gave him Isaac and Jacob, and each one We made a prophet.
51. We gave them (a share) of Our mercy and appointed for them a sure repute, lofty.

Moses, Ishmael, and Idrīs ; Medinan, but probably based on earlier notes.

52. Make mention in the Book of Moses, verily he was single-hearted,[1] and he was a messenger, a prophet.
53. We called him from the right-hand side of the mount,[2] and brought him near in confidential talk ;
54. And We gave him (a share) of Our mercy, his brother Aaron a prophet.
55. Make mention in the Book of Ishmael ; verily he was one who spoke the promise truly, and he was a messenger, a prophet.
56. He enjoined upon his people, the Prayer and the Almsgiving, and was in his Lord's eyes approved.
57. Make mention in the Book of Idrīs ; [3] verily he was a trusty one, a prophet.
58. And We raised him in position, lofty.

Allah's special people ; detached, perhaps from after XVII, 106a, revised to refer to the preceding.

59. These are the ones upon whom Allah hath bestowed favour of the prophets of the posterity of Adam, and of those whom We carried with Noah,[4] and of the posterity of Abraham and Israel, and of those whom We have guided and chosen ; when the signs of the Merciful are recited to them, they fall down, prostrating themselves, and weeping.
60. But there has come after them a succession who have corrupted the Prayer, and followed their own desires ; so in the end they shall meet perversion.

[1] Or, with change of pointing, " purifying " his religion.
[2] Or " from the side of the blessed mount."
[3] Perhaps, as suggested by Torrey, =Esdras, *i.e.* Ezra.
[4] In the Ark.

61. Except those who may repent and believe and act uprightly ;
So these will enter the Garden and will not be wronged at all ;
62. Gardens of Eden [1]
which the Merciful in the unseen hath promised to His servants ; verily His promise is (always) attained.
63. Therein they will not hear vain babble (or anything) but " Peace ! "
and therein they have their provision morning and evening.
64. That is the Garden which We have given as an inheritance to those of Our servants who are pious.

Function of the angels ; connection doubtful ; late Meccan, or early Medinan.

65. We come not down except with the affair [2] of thy Lord ; to Him belongeth what is before us and what is behind us, and what is between that ; nor is thy Lord forgetful,
66. Lord of the heavens and the earth, and what is between them ; so serve Him, and endure patiently in His service ; knowest thou to Him a namesake ?

Objection to the Resurrection ; Meccan, with later addition.

67. Man says : " When I am dead, shall I after all be brought out alive ? "
68. Does not Man recall that We created him formerly, when he was nothing ?
69. So, by thy Lord, We shall certainly round up them and the satans ; then We shall bring them close around Gehenna, kneeling.
70. Then We shall draw out from each party, those of them who against the Merciful are most in excess ;
71. Then surely (it is) We who know best those who are worthiest of it for roasting.
72. Not one of you but shall go down to it—that is for thy Lord a decree, fixed.
73. Then We shall deliver those who have shown piety ; and leave the wrong-doers therein kneeling.

Muhammad's followers insignificant ; late Meccan (?).

74. When Our signs are recited to them as Evidences, those who have disbelieved say to those who have believed : " Which of the two parties is best in position, and best as an assembly ? "

[1] Or " delight."
[2] Or " by command of."

75. But how many a generation have We destroyed before them, better both in goods and in repute!
76. Say: "Whosoever is in error—let the Merciful give him ample measure;
77. Until when they see what they are promised—either the punishment or the Hour—then at last they shall know who is worst in position, and weakest as an army."
78. But to those who have let themselves be guided, Allah will give yet more guidance.
79. The things which remain, the deeds of uprightness, are in thy Lord's eyes better in reward, and better in return.

Pride in wealth and family; late Meccan (?).

80. Hast thou noticed him who has disbelieved in Our signs, and said: "Surely I shall be given wealth and children"?
81. Has he had a look at the unseen, or has he taken of the Merciful a covenant?
82. Nay! We shall write down what he says, and give him of the punishment an extension.
83. We shall be his heir in what he speaks of,[1] and he shall come to Us alone.

Polytheism; late Meccan.

84. They take apart from Allah gods, that they may give them dignity.
85. Nay! they shall deny their service, and be to them opposed.
86. Hast thou not noticed that We have sent the satans upon the unbelievers to egg them on?
87. Do not be in a hurry with them then; We only count for them a (certain) number (of years).

No intercession except by Allah's permission.

88. On the day when We shall gather those who show piety to the Merciful like an embassy,
89. And shall drive the sinners to Gehenna like a herd,
90. They shall have no power of intercession,
except those who have taken with the Merciful a covenant.

Allah has no offspring; late Meccan (?); vv. 93–95, perhaps later.

91. They have said: "The Merciful hath taken to Himself offspring."
"Ye have committed a thing monstrous,

[1] *I.e.* at death he will leave his wealth and children behind.

92. At which almost the heavens are rent, and the earth cleft asunder, and the mountains fall down in pieces";
93. Because they have attributed to the Merciful offspring,
when it does not behoove the Merciful to take to Himself offspring.
94. There is no one in the heavens or in the earth but cometh to the Merciful as a servant;
He hath counted them and fixed for them a number.
95. And each of them shall come to Him on the resurrection-day, alone.

96. Verily for those who have believed and done the works of righteousness will the Merciful appoint love.

Purpose of revelation of the Qur'ān.

97. We have made it[1] easy in thy tongue in order that thou mayest thereby give good tidings to those who show piety, and warn a contentious people.
98. How many a generation have We destroyed before them! Dost thou perceive of them a single one or hear of them a whisper?

[1] The Qur'ān, which is communicated to the prophet in his own language.

SURAH XX

This surah contains no mention of the Book, nor is there anything in it which necessarily carries us far into the Medinan period. It was probably designed as a chapter of the Qur'ān in the narrower sense. It has not, however, been composed as a unity. The phrase at the end of v. 1 " that thou mayest be miserable " breaks the connection with v. 2, but it is impossible to say with certainty whether it is a later insertion or the original ending which was omitted when vv. 2–9 were added.

The bulk of the surah consists of the story of Moses. In its present form, this version of the story is almost certainly Medinan, but it bears evidence of having been built up at various times.

The beginning, vv. 8–12, is similar to the beginning of the story in surah XXVII, and to vv. 29 ff. of XXVIII, and is probably earlier than these passages. The name of the holy wādi, occurs only here and in LXXIX, 16, and disappears from the later forms of the story. The doctrinal vv. 13–17 interrupt the story, and must have been introduced when the imminence of the Hour was in the forefront of Muhammad's teaching. The original story resumes at v. 18 and continues to v. 25. To this original story Aaron did not belong, so that vv. 26–36 are an addition to it, and vv. 34, 35, which show a slightly different rhyme are probably an even later insertion. The account of Moses' early life, vv. 37–43, has evidently been introduced as an afterthought, whether at the same time as the Aaron episode or at that of 34, 35 is uncertain. The original story is resumed at v. 45 (which practically repeats v. 25) but has been revised to include Aaron as well as Moses. Vv. 55–57 are an early " sign-passage " which has been adapted for use here, v. 58 being a comment on it. From v. 59 to v. 72 Aaron plays no part in the story, so that these verses are probably based on the original version, but they contain early Medinan phrases, such as " invent not against Allah falsehood." But for a cursory mention of Aaron in v. 73, the passage, vv. 73–78, still speaks of Moses alone ; it is, however, early Medinan as is shown by the phraseology of 75 and 77 especially. Vv. 79–81 return to the early strand of the story and 81 gives the climax of it as a

story of punishment for unbelief, though possibly this passage also has been freely recomposed. Vv. 82–84 are early Medinan as is shown by the side-glance at the controversy about food-restrictions, one of the earliest points of difference with the Jews in Medina. Vv. 85–98 show peculiarities which seem to indicate a revision. The first form seems to have consisted of vv. 85–90a, 94, 95. The fault of the people here is that they do not follow Moses, and fail to keep the appointment. The end of v. 87 has probably been modified to introduce the reference to as-Sāmirī; the original ending may have been *fanasiya* which now stands, not quite appropriately, at the end of v. 90. The episode of the Golden Calf has been superimposed upon this, and the blame of it is laid upon as-Sāmirī. This mysterious personage, who is only mentioned here, is probably the supposed founder of the Samaritan community, Muhammad having confused the episode of the Golden Calf with the setting up of calf-worship in Samaria by Jeroboam (cf. Horovitz, *K.U.* p. 114 f.; *E.I.* art. "Sāmirī"). This revision introduced the end of 87, vv. 90b, 91 (?), 92, 93 (on back of 94, 95 ?), 96, 97, 98 (?); unless perhaps 91, 92, 93, 98 were slightly later afterthoughts.

Vv. 99–101 form the epilogue to the story; but another is found at 112 f. This latter was probably the earlier. The intervening eschatological matter can hardly be a unity. In fact, the reference to questions being asked—which reminds one of early Medinan passages—intimates a new beginning at v. 105; while the position with regard to intercession stated in 108 ff. is almost certainly later than vv. 102–104 which strike one as fairly early, and belong to the period when the length of time between death and the Resurrection was one of the arguments Muhammad had to meet. Possibly, though not certainly, vv. 108–111 are the continuation of vv. 99–101, while 102–104 and 105–107 were separate pieces on the backs of which the two passages were written. The passage dealing with the covenant with Adam, vv. 114–126, probably belongs to the same time as the later epilogue to the Moses story, though v. 115 looks as if it had been patched in, and if so must have displaced some description of the Garden. A series of rather loosely connected passages mainly in the form of exhortations to the Prophet, which show signs of revision here and there, bring the surah to a close. They seem on the whole to be earlier than the Adam-section which precedes. Possibly it was written on the back of them.

Sūrat Ṭā' Hā'—Chapter Ṭ. H.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Purpose of the revelation of the Qur'ān; late Meccan or early Medinan.

1. Ṭā', Hā'.
   We have not sent down the Qur'ān upon thee that thou mayest be miserable.
2. Except as a reminder to him who fears,
3. A down-send from Him who created the earth and the heavens on high.
4. The Merciful on the throne hath sat firm,
5. To Him belongs what is in the heavens and what is on the earth, and what is between them, and what is beneath the mould.
6. And though thou speakest openly, He knoweth the secret and hath concealed;[1]
7. Allah, there is no god but He; to Him belong the names most beautiful.

The story of Moses; early Medinan in its final form, but built up at various times.

8. Has there come to thee the story of Moses?
9. When he saw a fire and said to his household: "Stay! I have perceived a fire;
10. Mayhap, I shall bring you from it a brand, or shall find at the fire guidance."
11. When he came to it he was addressed: "O Moses,
12. Verily I am thy Lord; so take off thy shoes, for thou art in the holy valley, Ṭuwā.[2]
13. I have chosen thee, so listen to what is suggested.
14. Verily, I am Allah, there is no god but I; so serve Me and establish the Prayer for My[3] remembrance.
15. Verily the Hour is coming; I almost conceal it,
16. That each one may be recompensed for what he strives after.
17. So let not him who believes not in it and follows his desire turn thee from it that thou perish.

[1] Referring to the time of the Last Judgment, cf. v. 15; the word is usually read as elative, "and still more hidden," referring to the inner thoughts of men; Barth suggests reading *al-khafa* = "the hidden."

[2] Perhaps based on a misreading of the Syriac *ṭūrā* = Mount.

[3] Perhaps omit "My," reading *dhikrā* instead of *dhikrī*, as rhyme suggests (Noeldeke, *N.B.*).

18. What is that in thy right hand, O Moses ? "
19. He said : " It is my staff, upon which I lean, with which I break down (food) for my herd, and which I use for other purposes."
20. He said : " Cast it down, O Moses."
21. So he cast it down, and lo, it was a serpent wriggling.
22. Said He : " Take hold of it and fear not ; We shall restore it to its first form.
23. Press thy hand to thy side [1] and it will come forth white, without harm—another sign,
24. That We may let thee see of Our signs the greatest.
25. Go to Pharaoh ; he has become arrogant."
26. He said : " O my Lord, enlarge my breast,
27. And make easy for me my affair.
28. And loose a knot from my tongue,
29. And they shall understand what I say.
30. Appoint for me a minister from my household,
31. Aaron, my brother.
32. Gird by him my strength,
33. and associate him in my affair.
34. That we may glorify Thee often
and make remembrance of Thee often ;
35. Verily Thou hast become of us observant."
36. He said : " Thy request is granted, O Moses.
37. We bestowed favour upon thee also another time
38. When We suggested to thy mother what was suggested :
39. ' Cast him in the ark, and cast it [2] in the sea, and let the sea throw it upon the shore, and an enemy of Mine and his will take him up ' ; I threw over thee a love from Myself,
? 40. And (it was) in order that thou mightest be formed under My eye.
41. Lo thy sister was walking, and saying : ' Shall I direct you to one who will take charge of him ? ' So We returned thee to thy mother that she might be comforted and not grieve. Thou didst kill a person, and We delivered thee from the worry and tested thee in various ways.
42. So thou didst remain for some years among the people of Midian ; then thou didst come according to a decree, O Moses,
43. And I have formed thee for Myself.
? 44. Go thou and thy brother with My signs, and be not slack in My remembrance.
45. Go to Pharaoh, he has become arrogant,

[1] Lit. " wing." [2] Or " him."

46. And speak to him gently, mayhap he will take heed or fear."
47. They said: "O our Lord, we are afraid that he may break out upon us, or become arrogant."
48. He said: "Be not afraid, verily I am with you, hearing and seeing.
49. So go to him and say: 'Verily we are the messengers of thy Lord, so let go with us the Children of Israel, and punish them not; we have come to thee with a sign from thy Lord; peace be upon him who follows the guidance.
50. Verily it has been suggested to us that the punishment will be upon him who counts it false and turns away.'"
51. He said: "And who is your Lord, O Moses?"
52. He said: "Our Lord is He who gave to everything its creation, and then did guide."
53. He said: "Then what about the former generations?"
54. Said he: "The knowledge of them is with my Lord in a book; my Lord errs not nor does He forget.
55. Who appointed for you the earth as a bed
and made passages therein for you as paths
and sent down from the sky water,
whereby We brought forth kinds of plants, various.
56. Eat and pasture your flocks;
verily in that are signs for those who have sagacity.
57. From it did We create you, into it do We bring you again, and from it do We bring you forth another time."
58. We showed him all Our signs, but he disbelieved and refused.
59. He said: "Hast thou come to bring us forth[1] from our land by thy magic, O Moses?
60. We shall surely come to thee with magic like to it; so make between us and thee an appointment, which neither thou nor we shall fail, a fair field."
61. He said: "Your appointment is the gala day,[2] and that the people be gathered together in the forenoon."
62. So Pharaoh turned away, and arranged his stratagem; then he came.
63. Said Moses to them: "Out upon you! devise not against Allah falsehood,

[1] There is no motive for this in the context, unless we are to assume a misunderstanding of v. 57 on Pharaoh's part.

[2] Lit. "day of adornment."

64. And He therefore extirpate you by a punishment; failed has he who devises."
65. So they disputed their affair amongst themselves, and talked secretly in confidence.
66. Said they: "Lo, these are two magicians, who intend to bring you forth from your land by their magic, and remove your exemplary way (of religion).
67. So arrange your stratagem, and then come in a row; prospered to-day has he who has the upper hand."
68. Said they: "O Moses, either thou dost throw, or we are the first to throw."
69. He said: "Nay, do ye throw!"; and lo their ropes and their staves were made to appear to him by their magic as if they ran.
70. Then in his heart a certain fear felt Moses.
71. We said: "Fear not! verily thou art the superior.
72. Throw down what is in thy right hand, and it will swallow up what they have made; they have only made a magician's stratagem; the magician never prospers wherever he comes."
73. Then the magicians were cast down in prostration; they said: "We have believed in the Lord of Aaron and Moses."
74. He[1] said: "Have ye given credence to him[2] before I have given you permission; verily he is your chief, who has taught you magic; I will surely cut off your hands and your feet on opposite sides, and will crucify you on palmtree stems; ye shall know assuredly which of us is severer in punishment and more enduring."
75. They said: "We shall not prefer thee to the Evidences which have come to us, and to Him who hath originated us. So decide what is in thy province to decide[3]; thou decidest only (what belongs to) this nearer life;
verily we have believed in our Lord, that He may forgive us our sins, and the magic to which thou hast compelled us;
and Allah is better and more enduring.
76. Verily for one who comes to his Lord a sinner there is Gehenna in which he will neither die nor live.
77. But for one who comes to Him believing and having done the deeds of righteousness—for them there are the highest ranks;

[1] Pharaoh. [2] Probably Moses.
[3] Lit. "Decide what thou art deciding" possibly = decide as you please.

78. Gardens of Eden through which the rivers flow, in which to abide ;
that is the reward of those who seek purity."
79. We suggested to Moses : " Go by night with My servants, and strike for them a way through the sea on dry land, 80. Not fearing any overtaking or being afraid."
81. So Pharaoh had them followed with his hosts, and of the sea there covered them what covered them, and Pharaoh led his people astray, and did not guide.
82. O Children of Israel, We delivered you from your enemy, and made an appointment with you at the right-hand side of the mount, and sent down upon you the manna and the quails.
83. Eat of the good things of what We have provided for you, but go not to excess therein so that My anger alight upon you ; for upon whomsoever My anger alights, he has perished.
84. But verily I am forgiving to whomsoever repents and believes and acts uprightly, and lets himself be guided.

85. " What has made thee hasten from thy people, O Moses ? "
86. Said he : " There they are close behind me, and I have hastened to Thee O my Lord, that Thou might'st be pleased."
87. He said : " Verily We have tempted thy people, after thou didst leave them, and as-Sāmirī has led them astray."
88. So Moses returned to his people, angry and sorrowful.
89. Said he : " O my people, did not your Lord give you a good promise ? Did then the covenant last too long for you, or did ye wish that anger for your Lord should alight upon you, that so you failed to keep my appointment ? "
90. They said : " We did not fail to keep thy appointment by our ruling, but we were loaded with [1] burdens of the ornaments of the people, and we cast them down."
So also did as-Sāmirī cast down, and he produced for them a calf, a bodily appearance with a low, then they [2] said : " This is your god and the god of Moses ; and he has forgotten." [3]
91. Do they not see that it does not return them a word, and has not for them in its power hurt or profit ?

[1] Or " carried " var. lect. [2] Should perhaps be " he."
[3] This phrase usually taken as referring to Moses, is perhaps the displaced ending of v. 87.

92. Aaron had already said to them before: "O my people, you have simply been tempted thereby, verily your Lord is the Merciful, so follow me and obey my command."
93. They said: "We shall not cease to cleave to it until Moses return to us."

94. He[1] said: "O Aaron, what prevented thee, when thou sawest that they erred from following me? Hast thou gone against my command?"
95. He said: "O brother,[2] do not seize my beard or my head; I was afraid that thou wouldst say: 'Thou hast caused a division among the Children of Israel, and hast not observed what I said.'"
96. He said: "What then hast thou to say, O Sāmirī?" He replied: "I saw what they did not see; and I took a handful of what the messenger left behind, and cast it away; thus did I delude myself."[3]
97. He said: "Depart then; for it is thine in life to say: 'No contact'; thine also is an appointment which thou shalt not fail; look too at thy god to which thou didst continue cleaving; we shall surely burn it, and pound it down into the sea as powder.
? 98. Your god is Allah, than whom there is no other god, who comprehendeth everything in His knowledge."

Epilogue of story of Moses; perhaps at time of final revision.

99. Thus do We recount to thee some of the stories of the past, and We have caused to come to thee from Us a reminder.
100. Whoever turns from it will bear on the resurrection-day a burden,
101. Abiding therein, and bad will it be for them on the resurrection-day as a load.

Reply to objection as to length of time between Death and Resurrection; late Meccan (?).

102. On the day when the trumpet shall be blown,—and We shall round up the sinners that day blue[4]—

[1] *I.e.* Moses.
[2] Lit. "son of a mother."
[3] The sense of this reply is not clear.
[4] Usually taken as referring to the colour of the eyes; and as equivalent to "blind," but (?).

103. They will mutter among themselves: "Ye have only remained[1] a ten-days."
104. We know best what they will say; the most exemplary of them religiously will say: "Ye have only remained a day."

The mountains at the Last Day; early Medinan (?).

105. They ask thee about the mountains; so say: "My Lord will pound them down as powder,
106. And leave them a plain, furrowed,
in which one sees neither crook nor curve."
107. That day they will follow the summoner, in whom there is no crookedness; voices will be lowered to the Merciful, and one will hear nothing but a murmur.

Intercession only by Allah's permission; continuation of 99–101 (?).

108. That day intercession will not avail, except (that of) him to whom the Merciful will give permission, and of whose speech He approves.
109. He knoweth what is before them and what is behind them; but they comprehend not Him in knowledge.
110. Faces will be humbled to the Living, the Eternal; failed has he who carries a load of wrong.
111. But he who does (any) of the deeds of righteousness, being a believer—he will not fear wrong or defrauding.

Perhaps an earlier epilogue to story of Moses; completion of the Qur'ān not to be hurried.

112. Thus have We sent it down, an Arabic Qur'ān, and We have turned about in it some threatening; mayhap they will show piety, or it will come fresh to them as a reminder.
113. So exalted be Allah the true king;[2] do not be in a hurry with the Qur'ān, before the suggestion of it to thee is finished, but say: "O my Lord, increase me in knowledge."

Covenant with Adam; early Medinan, but perhaps with earlier basis.

114. We made a covenant with Adam formerly, but he forgot, and We found not in him steadiness of purpose.

[1] *I.e.* in the grave. [2] Or "the king, the truth."

115. When We said to the angels: "Do obeisance to Adam," and they did obeisance, except Iblīs, who refused.
So We said: "O Adam, verily this is an enemy to thee and to thy spouse; so let him not expel you from the Garden, and thou be miserable.
116. It is thine not to hunger therein nor to go naked,
117. Nor to thirst, nor to be exposed to the sun."
118. Then Satan whispered to him; he said: "O Adam, shall I point thee to the tree of eternity, and of a kingship which grows not old."
119. So they ate of it, and their base parts appeared to them, and they set about sewing upon themselves leaves of the Garden, and Adam rebelled against his Lord and erred.
120. Afterwards his Lord chose him and relented towards him and guided.
121. He said: "Get ye down from it together, enemies one to the other; and if there come to you from Me guidance
122. Then whoso followeth My guidance, shall not go astray, and shall not become miserable.
123. But if anyone turn from My reminder,[1] narrowness of life will be his,
124. And We shall round him up on the resurrection-day blind."
125. He shall say: "O my Lord, why hast thou rounded me up blind, though I used to see clearly?"
126. He shall say: "Thus (it is); Our signs came to thee, and thou didst forget them; so to-day thou art forgotten."

Possibly an early ending to the story of Moses; after v. 82 (*?*).

127. Thus do We recompense him who is extravagant and believes not in the signs of his Lord, but the punishment of the Hereafter is more severe and lasting.

Connection not certain: Meccan, revised.

128. Has it not served as guidance to them how many generations We have destroyed before them, in whose dwelling-places they walk? Verily in that are signs for those of sagacity.
129. Were it not for a word from thy Lord which preceded, it would be close at hand and a fixed term.

[1] Or the remembrance of Me.

Exhortation to Muhammad to endure and practise piety ; Meccan, revised.

130. So endure patiently under what they say, and give glory with the praise of thy Lord before the rising of the sun, and before its setting and in the intervals of the night, and at the ends of the day give glory, mayhap thou wilt be satisfied.

131. Cast not longing eyes at that with which We have given classes[1] of them to enjoy, the flower of this nearer life ;
that We may try them therein ; the provision of thy Lord is better and more lasting.

132. Command thy household to observe the Prayer, and endure patiently in it ; We ask of thee no provision ;[2]
it is We who provide for thee, and the final issue belongs to piety.

Demand for a sign ; late Meccan (?).

133. They say : " Why does he not bring us a sign from his Lord ? " Has there not come to them the Evidence of what is in the former Leaves ?

134. If We were to destroy them by a punishment before it,[3] they would say : " O our Lord, why didst Thou not send us a messenger so that we might have followed Thy signs before we were humiliated and confounded ? "

135. Say : " Every one is on the watch ; watch then and ye shall one day know who are the ones on the smooth path, and who has let himself be guided."

[1] Cf. note 3, p. 247.

[2] Usually interpreted as meaning that Allah does not require Muhammad to provide for himself and his household, but more probably means that Allah does not demand offerings as the false gods did.

[3] The Last Day and Judgment (?).

SURAH XXI

It seems impossible to give any clear account of the composition of this surah. It deals with various subjects, and contains elements from different dates. That parts of it are Medinan is certain, cf. especially, vv. 73, 92 f., 107 ff.; and it has probably been put together finally in Medina. But the main body of the material is probably Meccan, and some of the passages seem to have been already revised in Mecca. The beginning seems to be late Meccan, but v. 4 is almost certainly Medinan, and there is a change of style after the first phrase of v. 3. Whether vv. 5, 6 are the continuation of vv. 1–3a is doubtful. More probably v. 5 continues v. 3b, v. 4 being a still later insertion; v. 6 may be the original conclusion of the passage. Vv. 7–10 deal with the question raised in v. 3b, but seem to be earlier. In fact, the passage seems to have been an early one, probably unrhymed, addressed to the Prophet, and to have been revised and made to rhyme, already in Mecca. Verse 10 is a Medinan addition. Vv. 11–15 return to the question of the temporal punishment of unbelieving towns (cf. v. 6), but the jibing tone of v. 13 suggests that the Jews exiled from their colonies in Medina are in mind. Vv. 16–18 may quite well join to this. The Medinan date of these passages will be confirmed if, as seems probable, they were written on the back of vv. 19–25. These contain two passages apparently misplaced. Vv. 19, 20 evidently deal with the position of the angels, which is treated of in vv. 26–30. In this latter passage, however, vv. 29, 30, dealing with intercession and accepting it in a modified sense, are almost certainly Medinan, while the beginning of the passage is earlier. Vv. 19, 20 would join quite well to 26–28, and have probably been removed from there when the addition was made. Vv. 21–25 are an argument for Monotheism, and the beginning of it seems to be found in v. 31, to a phrase in which the pronoun in v. 22 refers. The passage so constituted is, at the earliest, late Meccan, or, if earlier, has been revised. But at a still later date vv. 21–25 seem to have been discarded, and only v. 31 retained as the beginning of a "sign-passage," formed by the addition of 32, 33. These latter were probably written on the back of 34; 35, 36, which are Meccan. Vv. 37–42 are again confused. Verse 38 is

specially difficult to fit in as it stands; and the jibe in 39 hardly corresponds to that in 37b. This latter seems to have been added on the back of 38. The original passage therefore dealt with ridicule of the threat of coming punishment. Even so it seems hardly a unity, and it might be questioned whether 40 and 41 are continuous, though they have been left so in the reconstruction. Vv. 43, 44 seem intended to follow 37b, and probably belong to the same time. Verse 45, however, though it continues the passage, must be a later addition, if, as is probable, the nibbling away of the borders of the land refers to the progress of Muhammad's influence. Vv. 46, 47, and 48, which are out of connection, probably stood on the back of the scraps on which these additions were written.

The first germ of the series of stories which follows seems to have been a list of Biblical personages. The stories themselves, having as their climax for the most part the deliverance of believers, are probably late Meccan, but they have been revised in Medina as is shown by the occurrence of Medinan phrases here and there. The verses dealing with Moses and Aaron are probably entirely Medinan. Whether vv. 92–94 were intended to join to v. 91 is not certain, but it seems possible to take v. 92 as the content of the message implied in the Virgin Mary and her Son being made a "sign." In any case these verses are early Medinan. At v. 95 we return to the subject of towns punished by destruction, but this is combined with eschatological matter. These towns have disappeared for ever, but will be reconstituted for punishment at the Last Day. The passage may belong to the context of the beginning of the surah, or, as the mention of Yājūj and Mājūj suggests that it is of about the same date as XVIII, 82 ff., more probably to that of vv. 11–18. Verse 104 can hardly join to what precedes, and it is doubtful if 104–106 belong to the passage, though the doctrine of the restoration of all things at the end of time which they contain would agree well with the sense of the beginning of it, and they may have originally followed vv. 95–98. Possibly vv. 101–103 were added to 95–100 as an assurance to believers and the scrap on which 104–106 stood was used in making the addition. Vv. 107–112 are personal to the Prophet, and are marked as Medinan by the use of the term *muslim*. It is difficult to see in them any connection with the context, unless it be that they arise out of the same attitude of mind which prompted the assurance in 101–103. It is, however, very doubtful

if the passage is a unity. Even with the reading "Say," v. 112 does not connect well with it, and the proclamation of v. 109 seems hardly to refer to what is commanded to be said in v. 108. Possibly the passage has been altered from some earlier form to which 109 belongs, vv. 110, 111 having been substituted for it.

Sūrat al-Anbiyā'—Chapter of the Prophets.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Levity of the people in face of approaching Judgment; late Meccan, with Medinan addition; v. 4 perhaps still later insertion.

1. Nigh to the people hath drawn their reckoning, while they in negligence are averting themselves.
2. No renewed reminder from their Lord comes to them but they listen to it, making sport the while,
3. Thoughtless of heart;
   and those who have done wrong have talked secretly in confidence: "Is this anything but a human being like yourselves? Will ye then betake yourselves to magic with your eyes open?"
4. Say:[1] "My Lord knoweth what is said in the heaven and the earth; He is the Hearer, the Knower."
5. Nay they have said: "A tangle of dreams! Nay, he has invented it! Nay, he is a poet! So let him bring us a sign, as messengers were sent to those of olden time."
6. Not a town before them which We destroyed believed; will they then believe?

Nature of the messenger; late Meccan, with Medinan addition.

7. We did not send before thee any but men to whom We made suggestions; ask the people of the Reminder[2] if ye do not know.
8. We did not make them a bodily appearance not eating food, nor were they immortal.
9. But We spoke the promise[3] true to them, then We rescued them and whom We will, and destroyed the extravagant.
10. We have sent down to you a Book in which is your Reminder; will ye not then have sense?

[1] Var. lect. "He said," a reading which seems impossible here, unless the verse be out of place.

[2] Probably equivalent to "the People of the Book" *i.e.* Jews and Christians.

[3] *I.e.* We gave them a true promise or threat to deliver, which was verified in the event.

The angels ; original continuation of 26–28.

19. To Him belongs whoever is in the heavens and the earth ; those who are with Him are not too proud for His service, nor do they weary.
20. They celebrate His praises night and day without intermission.

Polytheism refuted ; original continuation of 31.

21. Or have they chosen gods who from the earth do unfold ? [1]
22. If there were any gods in the two of them [2] except Allah, they would both go to ruin ; so glory be to Allah, Lord of the throne, away from what they chatter.
23. He will not be questioned about what He doeth, but they will be questioned.
24. Or have they chosen gods short of Him ? Say : " Bring your proof ! This is the reminder (given) to [3] those who are with me, and to those before me." Nay, the most of them do not know the truth, so they avert themselves.
25. We did not send before thee any messenger but We suggested to him : " There is no god but I, so serve Me."

Example of previous Unbelievers ; early Medinan (?).

11. How many a town which was doing wrong have We broken up, and set up after it another people ?
12. When they sensed Our attack, there they were from it [4] running.
13. " Do not run, but return to that in which ye lived luxuriously and to your dwellings ; mayhap ye will be asked (for)."
14. They said : " Alas for us ! we have been wrong-doers."
15. Nor did that cease to be their cry until We made them a reaped (harvest), extinguished.

Creation purposeful ; same time as preceding (?).

16. We did not create the heaven and the earth and what is between them in play.
17. If We wished to choose a pastime, We should choose one within Ourselves, if We were going to do (anything).
18. Nay, We pelt the false with the true and it brains it ; then, lo, it disappears, and to you is the sorrow because of what ye chatter.

[1] Or, as usually taken " who raise the dead," but there is no mention of the Resurrection in the context, and this, which requires a change of pointing merely, gives a contrast to v. 24. But the meaning of the verse is doubtful.
[2] *I.e.* the heaven and the earth, cf. v. 31.
[3] Or " proclaimed by."
[4] The town.

Position of the angels ; Meccan, with Medinan addition.

26. They have said : " The Merciful hath taken to Himself offspring." Glory be to Him ! nay, servants honoured,
27. They anticipate not His speech, but His command they perform.
28. He knoweth what is before them and what is behind them, and they do not intercede.
29. Except for him whom He approves, and for fear of Him they are anxious.
30. If any of them say : " I am a god apart from Him," We recompense him with Gehenna ; so do We recompense the wrong-doers.

The world a unity (31 *followed by* 21–25) *; turned into a " sign "-passage by the addition of* 32, 33.

31. Have not those who have disbelieved considered that the heavens and the earth were a cohering mass, and We slit them apart, and of water have We made everything living ? [1] Will they not then believe ?
32. And We placed in the earth (mountain) peaks lest it should sway with them, and placed in them passes as roads ; mayhap they will be guided.
33. And We made the heaven a roof well-preserved ; yet from its signs they avert themselves.

Signs ; detached, Meccan.

34. He it is who hath created the night and the day, the sun and the moon, each in (its) orbit hastening on.

Comfort in face of danger from Meccan plots.

35. We did not appoint to any human being before thee immortality ; if then thou diest will they be the immortal ?
36. Every person is subject to death, and We try you with evil and good as a test, and to Us are ye made to return.

Retort to jibes of Unbelievers ; Meccan, revised, more than once (?).

37. When those who have disbelieved see thee they take thee only as a butt of ridicule,

[1] This account of creation, which has no parallel in the Qur'ān, may perhaps be based on some vague knowledge of Genesis i.

38. Man was created of haste ; I shall show you My signs, so do not ask Me to make haste.

" Is this he who talks about your gods ? ", while in the reminder of the Merciful they disbelieve.

39. They say : " When comes this threat, if ye are speakers of the truth ? "

42. Messengers before thee have been ridiculed, but that which they ridiculed encompassed those of them who mocked.

40. If those who have disbelieved knew the time when they will not be able to ward off the Fire from their faces or from their backs, and they will not be helped. . . .
41. Nay, it will come upon them suddenly and astonish them ; they will not be able to avert it, nor will they be respited.

Warnings unheeded ; Meccan ?

46. Say : " I warn you simply by suggestion " ; the deaf hear not the call, when haply they are warned.
47. But if a whiff of the punishment of thy Lord touch them, they say : " O, alas for us ! We have been wrong-doers."

No hope in false gods ; same time as 37*b* (*?*).

43. Say : " Who will guard you by night and by day from the Merciful ? " Nay, from the reminder of their Lord they avert themselves.
44. Or have they gods who protect them apart from Us ? They are not able to help themselves ; and from Us they will have no company.

The Judgment ; date ?

48. We shall place the balances —justice [1]—on the day of resurrection and no one will be wronged at all ; if it be but the weight of a grain of mustard-seed We shall produce it ; We are sufficient as reckoners.

Medinan, added later (*?*).

45. Nay, We have granted enjoyment of life to these people and their fathers until their existence has lasted long enough ; do they not see that We come to the land nibbling away its borders ? [2] Are they then the conquerors ?

[1] Unless the preposition *bi* = " with " has been dropped, this word must be a gloss to " balances," or vice versa.
[2] Cf. xiii. 41.

Stories of religious personalities of the past. Probably a fairly early list, expanded in late Meccan time, revised and added to in Medina.

(a) *Moses and Aaron ; Medinan.*

49. We gave Moses and Aaron the Furqān [1] and illumination, and a reminder for those who show piety,
50. Who fear their Lord in the unseen, and who because of the Hour are anxious ;
51. And this [2] is a blessed reminder which We have sent down ; do ye then disapprove of it ?

(b) *Abraham ; late Meccan (?), with Medinan additions.*

52. We gave Abraham his direction before that, for him We knew.
53. (Recall) when he said to his father and his people : " What are these images to which ye cleave ? "
54. Said they : " We found our fathers serving them."
55. Said he : " Ye and your fathers have been in error manifest."
56. Said they : " Hast thou come to us with the truth, or art thou one of those who make sport ? "
57. Said he : " Nay, your Lord is the Lord of the heavens and the earth who brought them into being ; and as to that I am one of the witnesses.
58. By Allah, I shall outwit your idols after ye turn away backward." [3]
59. So he made them fragments, all except a big one of theirs, to which perhaps they would return.
60. Said they : " Who has done this with our gods ? Surely, he is one of the wrong-doers."
61. Said (others) : " We heard a young man talking about them, whose name is Abraham."
62. Said they : " Bring him then in the face [4] of the people ; mayhap, they will bear witness."
63. Said they : " Was it thou who did this with our gods, O Abraham ? "
64. Said he : " Nay, this big one among them did it ; so ask them, if they are able to speak."
65. So they turned to each other and said : " It is you who are the wrong-doers."

[1] Cf. ii. 181, etc. [2] The Qur'ān (?).

[3] Verse 58 is to be taken as said by Abraham to himself, not to the people.

[4] Lit. " eyes."

66. Then they were turned upside down[1] (and said): "Thou knowest well enough; these do not speak."
67. Said he: "Do ye then serve apart from Allah what profits you nothing, nor harms you?
Fie upon you and what ye serve apart from Allah! will ye not then be intelligent?"
68. Said they: "Burn him, and help your gods, if ye are going to do (anything)."
69. Said We: "O fire, be coolth and peace to Abraham."
70. They intended to outwit him but We made them the worst losers;
71. And We delivered him and Lot to the land in which We had set blessing for the worlds.[2]
72. We gave to him Isaac and Jacob over and above;[3] each one We made upright.
73. We made them leaders,[4] guiding (men) by Our command;
and We suggested to them the doing of good deeds, the setting up of the Prayer and the paying of the Zakāt, and Us were they serving.

(c) *Lot; late Meccan (?).*

74. And Lot—We gave him jurisdiction and knowledge, and We delivered him from the town which was working foul deeds; verily they were an evil people, reprobate;
75. And We caused him to enter into Our mercy; he is amongst the righteous.

(d) *Noah; late Meccan (?).*

76. And Noah—when he called before that, and We answered him and delivered him and his household from the mighty distress.
77. We helped him from the people who declared Our signs false; verily they were an evil people, so We drowned them all together.

[1] Lit. "they were inverted on their heads," meaning probably that they were nonplussed, or possibly, if the preceding verse be not a later insertion, that they swung round to the opposite view.

[2] *I.e.* the Holy Land, Palestine.

[3] The word *nāfila*, is sometimes interpreted as meaning "grandson," but this is very doubtful.

[4] Or "models."

(e) *David and Solomon ; late Meccan (?).*

78. And David and Solomon—when they gave judgment in regard to the tilled land in which the people's flocks had nibbled ; [1] of their judgment We were witnesses.
79. So We caused Solomon to understand it,[2] and to each We gave jurisdiction and knowledge ; along with David We subjected the mountains and the birds to give praise,[3] and We were active.
80. We taught him the making of garments for you to protect you from each other's violence [4]—so, are ye thankful ?
81. And to Solomon (We subjected) the wind, strongly blowing, running at his command to the land in which We had set blessing [5] —of everything We had knowledge ;
82. And of the satans some who used to dive for him and to do work besides that—over them We kept watch.

(f) *Job ; late Meccan (?).*

83. And Job—when he called to his Lord : " See, hurt hath touched me, and Thou art the most merciful of the merciful."
84. So We answered him, and lifted off the hurt that was upon him, and gave him his household (again) and the like of them in addition —a mercy from Us and a reminder to those who serve.

(g) *Others ; late Meccan (?).*

85. And Ishmael, Idrīs [6] and Dhu l-Kifl [7]—each one of the patiently enduring.
86. We caused them to enter into Our mercy—verily they are amongst the righteous.

(h) *Jonah ; late Meccan (?).*

87. And him of the fish—when he went off at cross purposes and thought that We would not have power over him ; then he called

[1] No certain source of this can be given ; Sidersky, p. 113, refers to the Ethiopic, Kebra Nagazt, for a story of a Persian king which may have suggested it.

[2] The reference of the pronoun is not clear.

[3] Perhaps based on Psalms like civ. cxlviii.

[4] David as the maker of coats of mail is perhaps due to confusion with some other Arabian hero.

[5] Cf. v. 71.

[6] Probably Ezra, cf. xix. 57.

[7] No satisfactory explanation of this name has been suggested.

in the darknesses : " There is no god but Thou ; glory be to Thee ! verily I have been one of the wrong-doers."

88. So We answered him and delivered him from the worry ; so do We deliver the believers.

(i) *Zechariah ; late Meccan (?), perhaps with Medinan addition.*

89. And Zechariah—when he called to his Lord : " O my Lord, leave me not solitary,[1] though Thou art the best of heirs."

90. So We answered him, and gave him Yaḥyā,[2] and made his spouse right[3] for him ; verily they used to vie in good (deeds) and call upon Us out of longing and fear ;
and to Us they used to humble themselves.

(j) *The Virgin Mary ; late Meccan (?) ; vv. 92–94 Medinan.*

91. And her who guarded her private parts—so we breathed into her some of Our spirit and made her and her son a sign to the worlds :

92. " Verily this community of yours is one community, and I am your Lord, so serve ye Me."

93. But they cut up their affair among them ;[4] each (party) to Us are going to return.

94. So whoever does righteous deeds, being a believer, there is no unthankfulness[5] towards his efforts ; We for him are writing (them down).

A town once destroyed for unbelief is never restored until the Judgment-day ; belongs to the context of the beginning of the surah or of vv. 11–18 (?).

95. A ban is upon any town which We have destroyed, that they[6] should not return,

96. Until, when Yājūj and Mājūj[7] are let out, and they[8] from every height are trickling down,

[1] Childless. [2] John the Baptist, cf. xix. 7.

[3] *I.e.* removed her barrenness ; the addition suggests taking the verb *aṣlaḥa* in the sense of making righteous.

[4] *I.e.* they separated into different religious communities, viz. Jews and Christians.

[5] On Allah's part. [6] The inhabitants. [7] Cf. xviii. 93 ff.

[8] Usually taken as referring to Yājūj and Mājūj, but may perhaps refer to the resurrected inhabitants.

97. And nigh has come what is truly promised,[1] then there it is,[2] the eyes of those who have disbelieved bulging out: "Oh, alas for us! we have been in neglect of this; nay, we have been wrong-doers."
98. "Lo, ye and what ye serve apart from Allah are coals [3] of Gehenna; to it ye go down."
99. If these had been gods they would not have gone down to it, but everyone therein abides;
100. For them it pants,[4] and they therein hear not.

The righteous will not suffer; possibly an afterthought.

101. Verily those for whom the (decree of the) best (reward) has already preceded from Us—they from it will be far removed;
102. They will not hear the slightest sound of it, they meanwhile in what their souls desire abiding.
103. Them the greatest of all terrors will not grieve; and the angels will meet them: "This is your day which ye have been promised."

The righteous will inherit the earth at the restoration of all things; late Meccan, or perhaps originally followed vv. 95–98.

104. On the day when We shall roll up the heaven like the rolling up of a scroll for the books,[5] as We made the creation at the first,[6] We shall restore it again—a promise (that lieth) upon Us; verily We have become active.
105. And We have written in the Psalms,[7] after the reminder: "Inherit the earth shall My servants the righteous."
106. Verily in this is a proclamation for a people who serve.

[1] The Judgment.
[2] The town now restored for judgment.
[3] Lit. "pebbles."
[4] *I.e.* there is the sighing sound of a great fire.
[5] The construction here is difficult. *Sijill*=sigillum (Fraenkel) would naturally mean "seal," Noeldeke says (*N.B.*, p. 27) that it can only be construed as a person—"as the one who affixes the seal rolls up the books." The word is, however, usually taken here as meaning the roll or book. It seems then necessary to regard *lilkutub* as an explanatory gloss. Bd. suggests reading *lilkitāb*="for the writing," but that does not remove the difficulty.
[6] Lit. "as We began the first creation."
[7] Cf. Psalm xxxvii. 9, 11, 29, 34 (Matt. v. 5).

The Prophet sent in mercy; Medinan, but possibly a revision of an earlier form.

107. We have not sent thee but as a mercy to the worlds.
108. Say: "It is suggested to me simply that your god is One God; so are ye Moslems?"
109. Then, if they turn away, say: "I have made proclamation to you all alike; but I know not if what ye are promised is near or far.

110. Verily He knoweth what is spoken publicly, and He knoweth what ye hide.
111. I know not; perhaps it is a test for you, and enjoyment of life for a time."

112. Say:[1] "O my Lord, judge with truth; and our Lord is the Merciful, whose help is to be sought against what ye chatter."

[1] Var. lect. "He said," which seems only possible if the verse be out of connection, as in any case it very probably is; cf. v. 4.

SURAH XXII

This surah is disjointed, and the composition of it cannot be unravelled with certainty. The basis of it seems to have been a fairly early Medinan address, vv. 1–8, to which probably vv. 54, 61–65 also belonged; possibly also v. 72 and some of the other stray verses included in the surah. This address was perhaps early revised and added to; cf. v. 4, and vv. 55, 56. It was later broken in upon by insertions of various kinds. The earliest was perhaps vv. 20–24. Considering the date of some parts of the surah, it is tempting to take this passage as referring to the contestants at Badr, but *khaṣmān* hardly seems an appropriate designation of them, and it is probably better to take it as referring to those who argue about Allah without knowledge, v. 8. Vv. 9–11 which turn this phrase against opponents (probably Jewish) and unreliable supporters, were probably inserted still later. Whether vv. 16, 17 date from the same time, it is impossible to say. Vv. 25, 26 form really only one verse, but its rather clumsy construction suggests that it has been extended from an earlier form in order to form an introduction to the passage which follows, dealing with the Pilgrimage. This latter, vv. 27–38, has been discussed in *The Moslem World* for 1933. In its original form it must have been composed between the change of *qibla* and the battle of Badr. The alteration, vv. 35b–37, which substitutes the slaughter of the sacrificial animals at home for the Pilgrimage sacrifices (the *'Īd al 'Aḍḥā*), probably dates from shortly before the Pilgrimage of the year II, the battle of Badr having by that time made it practically impossible for Moslems to go to Mecca. Vv. 40–42 are very confused. A tentative permission to retaliate by fighting, or it might even be a (Meccan) permission to emigrate, has been several times revised and strengthened. In its final form it seems to be an assurance of divine protection, probably occasioned by fear of a Quraish attack, and might date from about the same time, though the phraseology of v. 42 suggests a date nearer that of the battle of Uhud. That vv. 44–47 are not homogeneous is shown by the changes of pronoun. Verse 47, in which Allah speaks in the first person singular, is evidently connected with

v. 43 ; and v. 44, in which the first person plural is used, is modelled upon it. Vv. 44, 45 may possibly join to the final form of vv. 40–42, but it is difficult to place them with certainty either in time or context. The same may be said of vv. 49, 50. The surah has in fact become quite disjointed. Vv. 51–53, addressed to the prophet personally, are quite out of connection, though they might possibly have been suggested by the change found to be necessary in the pilgrimage legislation which precedes. If, however, vv. 66–68 which are similarly addressed, were connected with them, they must have been earlier than that, for the latter passage evidently suggested the form of v. 35a. It is further doubtful whether 52, 53 are of the same date as 51. The latter seems complete in itself, and might be earlier, though it can hardly be Meccan. As above noted, v. 54 seems to have been detached from the beginning of the surah, and 55, 56 seem intended to join to it. But vv. 57–59 are again quite out of connection. Their presence may perhaps be explained by supposing that 55, 56 was an addition written on the back of 57, 58. Verse 61 would then resume the discarded portion of the initial address, which continues to v. 65. Vv. 66–68 (*vide* above) evidently belong to the time of the developing independence of the Moslems as a separate religious community ; early year II. Verse 70 is a later addition. Verse 71 may perhaps belong to the time of 66–68. The closing address to the believers, vv. 76–78, belongs to the time of the adoption of the creed of Abraham ; middle of year II. But v. 78 may have been added somewhat later.

Sūrat al-Ḥajj—Chapter of the Pilgrimage.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Terror of the Last Day ; early Medinan address, perhaps based on earlier material.

1. O ye people, show piety towards your Lord ; verily the quake of the Hour is a mighty thing.
2. On the day when ye see it, every suckling female will forget what she has suckled, and every pregnant female will cast her burden, and one will think the people drunk, though they are not drunk ; but the punishment of Allah is severe.
3. Yet amongst the people are those who argue about Allah without knowledge, and follow any satan rebellious ;

4. Concerning whom it is written that: "Whoever takes him as his patron he will lead astray, and guide to the punishment of the Blaze."

Allah's power to revive the dead; continuation of preceding, based on earlier material.

5. O ye people, if ye are in doubt about the upraising—lo, We have created you from dust, then from a drop, then from a clot, then from a piece (of flesh), formed or unformed,[1] that We may make clear to you; We settle what We will[2] in the wombs until a set time, then We bring you forth as infants; then (We act so) that ye may reach your maturity—some of you die, and some of you are reduced to the most abject state of life, so that after having had knowledge they know not a thing;[3] and one sees the earth withered up, but when We send down water upon it it stirs and swells and shoots up every beauteous kind (of plant).
6. That is because Allah is the truth, and brings the dead to life, and over everything hath power;
7. And because the Hour is coming—there is no doubt of it—and because Allah raiseth up those who are in the tombs.
8. Yet amongst the people are those who argue about Allah without knowledge or guidance or light-giving Book;

Originally followed v. 8.

12. Apart from Allah they call upon what neither injures nor profits them; that is going far astray.

Originally followed v. 3.

13. Assuredly, they call upon one more like to injure than to profit them; surely, bad the patron! bad the comrade!

Later addition against the Jews.

9. Turning the cold shoulder that they may lead astray from the way of Allah; for them is humiliation in this world, and on the day of resurrection We shall cause them to taste the punishment of the Burning.
10. "That is for what your hands have sent forward, and because Allah is not a wronger of His servants."

[1] The meaning is not quite certain, but the passage evidently traces the development of the embryo in the womb and this clause refers to the stage at which it begins to assume recognisable shape.

[2] Male or female.

[3] *I.e.* reach old age

Bliss of the righteous ; context ?

14. Verily Allah will cause those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness to enter Gardens through which the rivers flow ; verily Allah doeth what He willeth.

Hopelessness of unbelief originally after 41*a* (*?*).

15. If anyone thinks that Allah will not help him in this world and the Hereafter, let him reach up by some means to the heaven, then let him cut (it) and see if his stratagem will remove what enrages (him).

Part of early Medinan address (*?*).

18. Has not one considered that to Allah do obeisance whoever is in the heavens and whoever is in the earth, the sun, the moon and the stars, the mountains, the trees and the beasts, and many of the people ; but due upon many is the punishment.

19. Whom Allah treateth with contempt, there is none to honour ; verily Allah doeth what He pleaseth.

Uncertain supporters ; possibly later.

11. And amongst the people are those who serve Allah shiftily ;[1] if good comes to them they are content therewith, but if trial come upon them, they turn a somersault ;[2] they lose both this world and the Hereafter ; that is the manifest loss.

Religious distinctions ; possibly same time as vv. 9 ff.

16. Thus have We sent it down (in) signs as Evidences, and (because) Allah guideth whom He willeth.

17. Those who have believed, those who have judaised, the Ṣābi'īn, the Naṣārā, the Magians,[3] and the Polytheists—verily Allah will distinguish between them on the day of resurrection ; verily Allah over everything is witness.

[1] *'Alā ḥarf* usually interpreted as meaning " on an edge " or as we might say, " on the fence."

[2] Lit. " they are turned upon their faces."

[3] The Zoroastrians ; for the other classes cf. ii. 59, v. 73,

Fate of Unbelievers and Believers ; later than vv. 1–8.

20. These [1] are two disputants who have contended about their Lord ; as for those who have disbelieved, garments of fire have been cut for them, while from above their heads is poured hot (water),
21. By which what is in their bellies and their skins are melted, and for them are crooks [2] of iron.
22. Every time that for very anguish they wish to get out of it,[3] they are thrust back into it, and : "Taste the punishment of the Burning."
23. Verily Allah causeth those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness to enter gardens through which the rivers flow, in which they are adorned with bracelets of gold and with pearls, and in which their clothing is of silk.
24. They have been guided to goodly speech, and they have been guided to the path of the Praiseworthy.[4]

Meccans not entitled to bar the way to the Ka'ba ; after Badr, but based on an earlier form.

25. Verily those who have disbelieved and turn (others) aside from the way of Allah, and from the Sacred Mosque [5] which We have appointed for the people, equally for those continually about it and for the stranger ; [6] 26. whoever wills in regard to it diversion from its purpose wrongously, We shall give to taste of punishment painful.

Establishment of the Ka'ba by Abraham ; middle of year II.

27. (Recall) when We made habitable for Abraham the place of the House : [5] "Do not associate anything with Me, but purify My House for those who make the circuit, and for those who stand,[7] for those who bow, and for those who do obeisance ;
28. And proclaim the Pilgrimage among the people ; let them come to thee on foot or on any lean mount [8] coming from any deep defile ;
29. That they may be present at things of benefit to them,[9] and make

[1] The contending parties implied in vv. 3 and 8 (?).
[2] The word is usually explained as meaning a crooked stick by which animals are controlled.
[3] The Fire. [4] Allah. [5] The Ka'ba.
[6] Or "the Badawi." [7] In prayer.
[8] *I.e.* an animal worn down by a long journey.
[9] Or possibly "may testify to benefits they have received."

mention of the name of Allah on certain specified days over such beasts of the flocks as He hath provided them with; so 'eat of their (flesh) and feed the hardly-hit, the poor';

30. Then let them make an end of their uncleanness,[1] and fulfil their vows, and perform the circuit of the ancient House;

32. As Ḥanīfs to Allah, not associating (anything) with Him; if anyone associates (anything) with Allah, it is as if he fell down from the heaven, and the birds snatched him away, or the wind swooped with him to a place remote."

31. That (at least); but if anyone shows respect to the things which Allah hath forbidden[2] it is good for him in his Lord's eyes; the cattle are allowable for you, except what is recited to you; so avoid the pollution of idols, and avoid the profession of falsehood.

Original end of v. 35.

34. Ye have benefits from them up to a set time, then their destination is the ancient House.

Other holy places in Mecca.

33. That (at least); but if anyone shows respect to the manifestations of Allah,[3] that comes of the piety of the heart.

Originally continuous with vv. 27–30, 32, *altered to provide a substitute for the Pilgrimage, towards the end of year II.*

35. For every community We have appointed a pious rite, that they should make mention of the name of Allah over such beasts of the flocks as He hath provided them with;
your God is One God, so to Him surrender yourselves; give (thou) good tidings to the humble,

36. Whose hearts are filled with awe when Allah is mentioned, and who patiently endure what befalls them, and who observe the Prayer, and of what We have provided them with give freely.

37. The sacrificial animals We have appointed to be amongst the manifestations of Allah for you, in which there is good for you; so make mention of the name of Allah over them, standing in

[1] The word is an unusual one; the phrase is taken to mean the cutting of the hair, the finger nails, etc., as marking the end of the ritual "uncleanness" of the pilgrimage period.

[2] Probably in the context refers to forbidden foods.

[3] Probably the subsidiary holy places in Mecca and neighbourhood, cf. ii. 153.

rows, then, when their sides quiver,[1] eat of them and feed the suppliant, the clamant; thus have We made them subject to you, mayhap ye will be thankful.

Followed 35*a*, 34, *perhaps repeated after the alteration.*

38. Neither their flesh nor their blood will reach unto Allah, but the piety on your part will reach Him; thus have We made them subject to you that ye may magnify Allah on account of the guidance He hath given you; give (thou) good tidings to those who do well.

A very early Medinan approval of fighting, several times revised.

40a. Permission is granted to those who fight[2] because they have suffered wrong, 41a. who have been expelled from their ? dwellings without justification, except that they say: "Our Lord is Allah";

39. Verily Allah will ward off (enemies) from those who have believed—Allah loveth not any unbelieving traitor.

40b. verily to help them Allah is able.

41b. But for Allah's warding off the people, some by means of others, hermitages and churches and oratories and places of worship in which the name of Allah was had in remembrance would have been destroyed in numbers.

41c. Surely Allah will help those who help Him; Allah is strong, sublime.

Unbelieving peoples; Meccan (?).

43. If they disbelieve thee, well, before them disbelieved the people of Noah, and ʿĀd, and Thamūd, the people of Abraham and the people of Lot, and those of Midian, Moses too was disbelieved; I forebore with the unbelievers, then I took hold of them, and what was the nature of My disapproval?

42. Who, if We establish them in the land, will observe the Prayer, and pay the Zakāt, urge to what is reputable and restrain from what is disreputable —to Allah belongs the issue of affairs.

[1] Or "fall to the ground," in either case the sense is "when they are dead."

[2] Or, with different pointing, "who are fought against in that they. . . ."

Answer to a Meccan (?) jibe.

46. They seek to hurry thee with the punishment; Allah will not fail His promise, but a day with thy Lord is as a thousand years of your counting.

Originally followed v. 43.

47. How many a town did I forbear with in its wrong-doing, then I took hold of it and to Me was the trend?

48. Say: "O ye people, I am simply for you a warner clear."

Unbelieving towns destroyed; possibly same time as 42.

44. How many a town have We destroyed in its wrong-doing, and it is now tumbled upon its supports, (how many) a ruined well and lofty castle![1]

45. Have they not travelled about in the land so as to have hearts to understand with and ears to hear with? For it is not the eyes which are blind, but blind are the hearts which are in the breasts.

Reward and punishment; perhaps followed v. 25 *in its original form.*

49. For those who have believed and done the works of righteousness, there is forgiveness and a noble provision.

50. But as for those who have striven in the matter of Our signs to make them of no effect, they are the inmates of the Hot Place.

Apology for changes in the revelations; early Medinan, 52, 53 *possibly later than* 51.

51. We have not sent before thee any messenger or prophet but when he formed his desire Satan threw (something) into his formulation;[2] so Allah abrogateth what Satan throws in, then Allah adjusteth His signs;[3] Allah is knowing, wise.

52. That He may make what Satan has thrown in a test of those in whose hearts is disease and those whose hearts are hard—verily the wrong-doers are in schism far-reaching.

53. And that those to whom knowledge has been given[4] may know

[1] By a change of pointing these words might be taken as part of the description of the ruined city, "how many" being then unnecessary.

[2] The meaning of the word is doubtful, cf. ii. 73, 105, iv. 122. The verse evidently refers to the alteration of what had been delivered as revelation.

[3] Here = verses.

[4] His own faithful followers; that the phrase here refers to Christians is unlikely.

that it is the truth from thy Lord and believe in it, and so their hearts be submissive to Him; verily Allah is the guide of those who have believed to a straight path.

The Day of Judgment; early Medinan, probably formed part of the address found at the beginning of the surah, 55, 56 possibly later.

54. Those who have disbelieved do not cease to be in doubt about it[1] until the Hour come upon them suddenly, or there come upon them the punishment of a barren day.
55. On that day the kingly power will be in Allah's hands; He will decide between them, and those who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness will be in Gardens of Delight,
56. But those who have disbelieved and counted Our signs false—for them is punishment humiliating.

Allah will provide for the Muhajerīn; late Meccan or very early Medinan.

57. For those who have emigrated in the way of Allah, and have afterwards been killed or have died Allah will surely make a good provision; verily Allah is the best of providers;
58. He will surely give them an entrance with which they will be satisfied; verily Allah is knowing, clement.

Medinan addition.

59. That (certainly); but if anyone retaliates with the same injury which has been done to him and is then harshly treated, Allah will assuredly help him; verily Allah is pardoning, forgiving.

60. That is because Allah causeth the night to interpenetrate the day and the day to interpenetrate the night; and because Allah heareth and observeth.

Continuation of 54 (55, 56).

61. That is because Allah is the truth, and because what they call upon apart from Him is the false, and because Allah is the Lofty, the Great.

[1] Generally taken as referring to the Qur'ān; but possibly may refer to the resurrection which is spoken of in v. 5.

Signs ; continuation of early Medinan address.

62. Has not one seen that Allah hath sent down water from the heaven and the earth becomes green ? Verily Allah is gentle, well-informed.
63. To Him belongs what is in the heavens and what is in the earth ; verily Allah is the Wealthy, the Praiseworthy.
64. Has not one seen that Allah hath subjected to you what is in the earth, and the ship running in the sea by His command, and holdeth the heaven so that it falls not upon the earth but by His permission ? Verily Allah is with the people kindly, compassionate.
65. He it is who hath given you life, then He causeth you to die, then bringeth you to life (again) ; verily man is ungrateful.

Differences in religion ; possibly connected with 51–53.

66. For each community We have appointed a pious rite which they follow ; let them therefore not move thee to withdraw in the affair, but summon to thy Lord ; verily thou art upon guidance straight.
67. If they dispute with thee, say : " Allah well knoweth what ye do.
68. Allah will judge between you on the day of resurrection in regard to that in which ye have been differing."

Allah's knowledge ; Medinan (?).

69. Has one not learned that Allah knoweth what is in the heaven and the earth ; verily that is in a book ; for Allah that is easy.

Later addition.

70. They serve apart from Allah that for which He hath sent down no authority, and in regard to which they have no knowledge ; the wrong-doers have no helper.

Enmity of Unbelievers ; early Medinan, possibly followed 66–68.

71. When Our signs are recited to them as Evidences, thou recognisest disapproval on the faces of those who have disbelieved ; they almost rush upon those who recite Our signs to them ; say : " Shall I announce to you something worse than that ?—the Fire—Allah hath promised it to those who have disbelieved—a bad destination !

Futility of false gods; possibly part of early Medinan address.

72. O ye people, a parable is coined, so listen to it—those upon whom ye call apart from Allah will not create a fly, even if they were to join together to do it; and if a fly were to snatch anything from them, they would not rescue it from it; weak the seeker and the sought!

73. They do not ascribe to Allah His proper power; Allah is strong, sublime.

74. Allah chooseth messengers from amongst the angels and from amongst the people; verily Allah hears and observes.

75. He knoweth what is before them and what is behind them, and to Allah are brought back (all) affairs.

Assurance to Believers; c. time of change of qibla.

76. O ye who have believed, bow and do obeisance and serve your Lord and do what is good; mayhap ye will prosper.

77. Strive for Allah as He is entitled to be striven for; He hath chosen you and hath not laid upon you any straitness in religion — the creed of your father Abraham; He hath named you Moslems.

78. Both formerly and now, that the messenger might be a witness regarding you, and that ye might be witnesses regarding the people. So observe the Prayer and pay the Zakāt, and lay fast hold upon Allah; He is your Patron. What a Patron! What a Helper!

SURAH XXIII

This surah contains elements of different dates. The earliest parts of it were probably the two little passages on the " signs " found in vv. 12–14, 17–21. These did not originally belong together, for they had different rhymes. They have, however, been revised, added to, and fitted with the rhyme which runs through the surah. This revision may be late Meccan or early Medinan. The accounts of previous messengers which follow are early Medinan as they stand, but are no doubt founded on Meccan material. The end of the story of Noah seems to imply that Muhammad was still in search of a safe settlement for his followers. Vv. 51–63 belong to the time, in the first years in Medina, when he was realising the differences which separated Jews from Christians and his followers from both. The similarity in tone between vv. 59–63 and the introduction to the surah, vv. 1–11, suggests that it too belongs to this time, though vv. 6, 7 are later. Vv. 64, 65 may have been originally earlier, but their continuation, vv. 66–78, belongs to this time or even later. The earliest continuation is, however, found at vv. 101 ff., another at v. 79. The fact that this latter is short suggests that the original was also short, vv. 101, 102, and was later extended by the addition of vv. 103–113. The two " sign "-passages, vv. 80–82 and 86–91, which of course are not connected, are probably scraps on the back of which the additions, vv. 83–85 and 92–94 were written. These latter connect fairly well with each other and with 66–78, though they are not necessarily of the same date. To which revision of the surah the prayer, vv. 95–100, belongs it is impossible to say, but it is probably Medinan. So is also the conclusion, vv. 117b, 118, but 114–117a is probably a scrap from an earlier date when Muhammad had to reply to the objection to the Resurrection based on the length of time the dead had been in the grave.

Sūrat al-Mu'minīn—Chapter of the Believers.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

The Believers ; fairly early Medinan, with later addition.

1. Fortunate are the believers,
2. Those who in their Prayer are humble,
3. Those who from vain talk turn away,
4. Those who for the Zakāt are active,
5. Those who their private parts do guard,
6. Except in regard to their spouses and what their right hands possess ; [1] for they are not to be blamed.
7. But if any go beyond that in their desires—they are the transgressors.
8. Those who their pledges and their covenant do tend,
9. Those who of their Prayers are observant ;
10. These are the inheritors,
11. Who shall inherit Paradise in which to abide.

Signs ; Meccan, adapted.

12. We have created man of an extract [2] of clay ;
13. Then We made him a drop in a receptacle sure ;
14. Then We created the drop a clot,
    Then We created the clot a morsel,
    Then We created the morsel bones,
    And We clothed the bones with flesh,
    Then We produced him, another creature ;
    Blessed be Allah, the best of creators.
15. Then after that ye die,
16. Then on the resurrection-day ye are raised again.

Signs ; Meccan, adapted.

17. We have created above you seven cycles, nor were We of the creation neglectful.
18. We sent down from the heaven water in measure and caused it to settle in the earth, and surely to take it away We are able ;

[1] Slaves, cf. iv. 3, 29.

[2] Probably refers to the *semen*, "of clay" being added later to give a new rhyme.

19. And We produced thereby for you gardens of palms and vines in which for you are fruits a many, and from which ye eat;
20. And a tree[1] which cometh out from Mount Sinai, which bears oil and a sauce for the eaters.
21. Lo, in the cattle too is for you a lesson; of what is in their bellies We give you to drink, and in them for you are advantages a many, and of them do ye eat;
22. Upon them and upon the ship are ye carried.

Former Messengers Disbelieved.

Noah; early Medinan, based on an earlier version.

23. We sent Noah to his people, and he said: "O my people, serve Allah, there is no god for you but He; will ye not then show piety?"
24. But the nobility, those of his people who disbelieved said: "This is only a man like yourselves who wishes to gain pre-eminence over you; if Allah had willed, He would have sent angels; we never heard of this among our fathers of old.
25. He is only a man possessed; wait and see (what befalls him) for a time."
26. He said: "O my Lord, help me because of the falsehood with which they charge me."
27. So We suggested to him: "Make the Ship[2] under Our eye and according to Our suggestion; then when Our affair comes and the oven boils,[3] 28. make way into it for two of every kind, and thy household, except him upon whom sentence has already been passed; speak not to Me in regard to those who have done wrong; verily they are to be drowned.
29. Then when thou and those with thee stand firm on the Ship, say: 'Praise be to Allah, who hath delivered us from the wrong-doing people.'
30. Say: 'O my Lord, settle me in a blessed settlement, for Thou art the best of those who give settlements.'"
31. Verily in that are signs; verily We have been afflicters (of men).

[1] Probably the olive. Mt. Sinai was perhaps confused with the Mount of Olives (Horovitz).

[2] The Ark as prototype of ships.

[3] Cf. xi. 42; may, as Montet suggests, be an echo of Gen. vii. 11.

An unnamed messenger ; early Medinan, perhaps adapted from story of Thamūd.

32. Then after them We produced another generation,
33. And We sent amongst them a messenger, one of themselves : " Serve Allah, there is no god for you but He ; will ye then not show piety ? "
34. But the nobility of his people, those who had disbelieved and counted false the meeting of the Hereafter, and to whom We had given luxury in this nearer life, said : " This is only a man like yourselves, eating what ye eat 35. of, and drinking what ye drink ;
36. If ye obey a human being like yourselves, surely, in that case ye will be losers.
37. Does he promise you that when ye have died and become dust and bones ye are to be brought out (from the grave) ?
38. Away ! away with what ye are promised !
39. There is nothing but this present life of ours ; we die and we live, but we are not going to be raised again.
40. He is only a man who has devised falsehood about Allah ; we in him are not believers."
41. He said : " O my Lord, help me because of the falsehood with which they charge me."
42. He [1] said : " In a little they will become regretful."
43. Then the Shout took them in truth,[2] and We made them rubbish ; so away with the wrong-doing people !

Other messengers ; early Medinan (?).

44. Then We produced after them other generations.
45. No community anticipates its term or stays behind.
46. Then We sent Our messengers, one after the other ; whenever its messenger came to a community, they counted him false ; so We caused them to follow each other, and made them stories ; away with a people who do not believe !

Moses and Aaron ; early Medinan, perhaps based on an earlier version.

47. Then We sent Moses and his brother Aaron with Our signs and clear authority,

[1] Allah. [2] Or " with the judgment " (?).

48. To Pharaoh and his nobility ; but they thought themselves great, and were a high people.
49. They said : " Shall we believe two human beings like ourselves, whose people to us are slaves ? "
50. So they counted them false, and were among those who were destroyed.

Jews and Christians separate from each other ; early Medinan.

51. We gave Moses the Book in the hope that they would be guided ;
52. And We appointed the Son of Mary and his mother to be a sign, and We made them repair to a height with a secure abode and a spring : [1]
53. " O ye messengers, eat of the good things and do righteously, verily I of what ye do am aware.
54. Lo, this community of yours is one community, and I am your Lord so show piety towards Me."
55. But they cut their affair to pieces amongst them in the matter of Scriptures, each sect in what is with them rejoicing.[2]
56. Leave them then in their confusion for a time.
57. Do they think that the wealth and children with which We enlarge them,
58. Hastening in their behalf, are among the good things ? [3] Nay, they do not perceive.

Believers seek the true good.

59. Verily those who on account of the fear of their Lord are anxious,
60. Those who in the signs of their Lord do believe,
61. Those who with their Lord join no partner,
62. Those who give what they give with hearts filled with awe that to their Lord they are to return ;
63. These are hastening to the good things, and they to them come first.

[1] Cf. xix. 24.

[2] The Jews in the Law of Moses and the Christians in the Gospel.

[3] Or " Do they think that in enlarging them with wealth and children, We are hastening on their behalf with good things ? "

Allah's demands moderate; probably originally earlier than 51–63.

64. We task not any person beyond his capacity, and with Us is a Book [1] which uttereth the truth; they will not be wronged.
65. Nay, but their hearts are in confusion in regard to this, and they have works short of that which they continue doing,

Later continuation, referring to the Jews (?).

66. Until when We take hold of their affluent ones with the punishment, there they are lowing (like cattle).
67. "Low not to-day, for from Us ye will receive no help.
68. My signs were recited to you, and upon your heels did ye draw back,
69. Acting proudly towards it,[2] shunning one who held night-discourse." [3]
70. Did they then not consider what was said? Or did there come to them what did not come to their fathers of old?
71. Or did they not recognise their messenger, and so of him disapproved?
72. Or do they say: "He is possessed"? Nay, he came to them with the truth, but most of them to the truth are averse.
73. If the truth had followed their desires, the heavens and the earth and those in them would have been corrupted; nay, We came to them with their reminder, but from their reminder they were turning away.
74. Or dost thou ask revenue of them? The revenue of thy Lord is better; He is the best of providers.
75. Verily thou art calling them to a straight path;
76. And verily, those who do not believe in the Hereafter from the path are deviating.
77. If We were to have compassion on them and lift away the hurt that affects them, they would persist in their arrogance blindly wandering.
78. We (formerly) took hold of them with the punishment, but they did not humble themselves to their Lord, nor were they of lowly mind.

[1] The book of record.

[2] The Qur'ān implied in "My signs," or perhaps "him" referring to the prophet.

[3] Cf. xxv. 6. The meaning is, however, quite uncertain; the phrase is usually taken to refer to the prophet's opponents "plotting secretly," this would, however, require the plural. It might possibly mean "one whom they regarded as a Samaritan," cf. xx. 87.

Earlier continuation of 64, 65.

79. Until when We open upon them a door of severe punishment, there they are in despair about it.

Signs ; Meccan, perhaps adapted.

80. He it is who hath produced for you hearing and sight and understanding ; [1] little thanks ye give.
81. He it is who hath sown you broadcast in the earth ; and to Him ye will be gathered.
82. He it is who gives life and death, His also is the alternation of night and day ; will ye not then be intelligent ?

Later addition to 66–78.

83. Nay, they said just what those of old did say.
84. They said : " What ! when we have died and become dust and bones, shall we be raised up ?
85. We and our fathers have been promised this aforetime ; this is nothing but old world tales."

Argument for Monotheism ; Medinan ?

86. Say : " To whom belong the earth and those in it, if ye have any knowledge ? "
87. They will say : " To Allah " ; say : " Will ye not then bethink yourselves ? "
88. Say : " Who is Lord of the seven heavens, and Lord of the mighty throne ? "
89. They will say : " To [2] Allah " ; say : " Will ye not then show piety ? "
90. Say : " In whose hand is the kingdom over everything, giving protection and seeking none—if ye have any knowledge ? "
91. They will say : " To [2] Allah " ; say : " How are ye then enchanted ? "

Still later addition to 66–78, 83–85 ; *against Christians.*

92. Nay, We brought them the truth, but they are speaking falsely.
93. Allah hath not taken to Himself any offspring, nor was there along with Him any (other) god ; in that case each god would have gone off with what he had created and would have gone up against the other ; glory be to Allah away from what they chatter,
94. Who knoweth the unseen and what is publicly proclaimed ; [3] so exalted be He away from what they associate (with Him).

[1] Lit. " hearts."

[2] The preposition is in the Arabic.

[3] What is testified by the prophets.

Prayer to be separated from the wrong-doers ; early Medinan (?).

95. Say : " O my Lord, if Thou causest me to see what they are threatened with,
96. O my Lord, place me not with the wrong-doing people."
97. Verily to cause thee to see what We threaten them with We are certainly able.
98. Repel the evil with what is better ; We know well what they chatter.
99. And say : " O my Lord, I take refuge with Thee from the incitements of the satans,
100. And I take refuge with Thee, O my Lord, from their being present with me."

Death brings repentance ; original continuation of 64, 65.

101. Until when death comes to one of them he says : " O my Lord, send me back,
102. Perhaps I shall act uprightly in that which I have omitted." Nay it is (only) a word which he is saying ; behind them is a barrier until the day when they will be raised up.

The Resurrection and what follows ; later addition to 101, 102.

103. When the trumpet shall be blown, there will be no (claims of) lineage amongst them that day, nor will they question each other.
104. Those whose balances are heavy, they are the ones who prosper ;
105. Those whose balances are light, they are the ones who lose themselves in Gehenna abiding.
106. The fire will scorch their faces, they in it meanwhile girning.
107. " Were not My signs recited to you, and did ye not count them false ? "
108. They said : " O our Lord, our wretchedness prevailed over us and we were a people in error.
109. O our Lord, bring us out of it, then, if we do it again, we shall be wrong-doers."
110. He said : " Slink away into it, and speak not to Me.
111. There was a part of My servants who said : ' O our Lord, we have believed, so forgive us and have compassion upon us ; Thou art the best of those who have compassion,'
112. But ye so took them as the butt of ridicule that they made you forget My remembrance, and ye at them were laughing.

113. See, I have recompensed them to-day for what they have endured by their being the triumphant."

Reply to time-argument against the Resurrection; late Meccan or early Medinan.

114. He said: "How long have ye remained in the earth in number of years?"

115. They said: "We have remained a day or part of a day; ask those who keep count."

116. He said: "Ye have only remained a little while—if only ye had known!

117a. Did ye think that perhaps We created you for fun and that to Us ye would not be made to return?"

Allah the true God; early Medinan.

117b. So exalted be Allah, the true king! There is no god but He, Lord of the noble throne! Whosoever along with Allah calls upon another god of whom he has no proof, his reckoning is with his Lord; prosper will not the unbelievers.

118. Say: "O my Lord, forgive and have compassion; Thou art the best of those who have compassion."

SURAH XXIV

That part of this surah, usually vv. 11–20, deals with the slander upon Ayesha consequent on her misadventure during the return from the expedition against the Banī Muṣṭaliq is attested by Tradition and accepted by European scholars. Vv. 18–20, however, belong rather to the legislation suggested by the affair. Vv. 10–17 are rather disjointed, and probably they were discarded and the sheets used over again for the writing of more permanent deliverances. The domestic legislation of the surah therefore dates from shortly after the affair. It includes vv. 2–9, 18–20, 22, 27–29, 31–33. Vv. 57–60 are perhaps slightly later, but may like the rest belong to the year VI. The phraseology of v. 1 suggests an earlier date, so also that of v. 21, while vv. 23–26, 30 seem to give earlier forms of prescriptions laid down in the later part. There was therefore an earlier surah dealing with similar subjects, some parts of which have survived here. Its date may have been somewhere in the year III. A persistent tradition asserts that stoning was at one time prescribed as the punishment for adultery instead of the scourging here laid down; this may have belonged to the discarded form of the surah and have been lost. The verses 34–45 are of quite a different nature from the rest of the surah, and a different rhyme runs through them, though to some extent they have been given the rhyme of the surah. This final revision may have been made for their inclusion here, but it is more tempting to suppose that their presence is due to vv. 31–33 having been written on the back of them. The difference in length between the two passages is, however, against that, unless we suppose that the revisions of 34–45 were crowded in between the lines. Vv. 46–56 belong to the time when Muhammad is asserting his claim to be supreme judge in Medina, and the fact that a conflict with the unbelievers is imminent in vv. 52–56 suggests a date a little before the battle of Uhud, a date which is also suggested by phrases like "disease in their hearts" and "we hear and obey" in vv. 46–51. Vv. 62–64 which seem to contain a private admonition and a public deliverance mixed up together, might belong to the same time, but are usually associated

with the Day of the Trench, year V, a situation which certainly suits the passage very well.

Sūrat an-Nūr—Chapter of the Light.

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Introductory ; fairly early Medinan.

1. A surah which We have sent down, and which We have made obligatory ; therein have We sent down signs as Evidences, mayhap ye will let yourselves be reminded.

The slander against Ayesha ; year VI, not quite in order.

10. Had it not been for the bounty and mercy of Allah towards you and that Allah is apt to relent and wise. . . .

11. Verily those who produced the lie are a small faction amongst you ; do not consider it evil for you, rather is it good for you ; every man of them will bear the guilt he has earned for himself, and for him amongst them who was responsible for the bulk of it is (in store) punishment mighty.

12. Why, when ye heard it, did not the believing men and believing women form in their minds a good opinion and say : " This is a lie manifest." ?

13. Why have they not brought four witnesses regarding it ? Seeing then that they have not brought the witnesses, they are

Legislation arising out of the affair of Ayesha ; year VI. Punishment of Fornication.

2. The fornicatress and the fornicator—scourge each of them with a hundred stripes ; let no pity affect you in regard to them in the religion of Allah, if ye have come to believe in Allah and the Last Day ; and let witness their punishment a party of the Believers.

3. The fornicator shall not marry anyone but a fornicatress or an idolatress, nor shall anyone but a fornicator or an idolator marry a fornicatress ; that is forbidden to the Believers.

Evidence must be produced.

4. Those who cast (imputations) upon women under ward [1] and do not then bring forward four witnesses scourge with eighty stripes, and do not ever accept any testimony of theirs again ; they are the reprobate.

5. Except those who afterwards

[1] *I.e.* either married women or young women of good family ; cf. iv. 28 f., v. 7.

in Allah's eyes the speakers of falsehood.

14a. Had it not been for the bounty and mercy of Allah towards you in this world and the Hereafter there would have affected you in the matter of your unguarded talk punishment mighty.

14b. When ye were taking it from each others' tongues and saying with your mouths things of which ye had no knowledge, and thinking it a light matter, while in Allah's eyes it was mighty. . . .

15. Why, when ye heard it, did ye not say: "It is not for us to talk about this; glory be to Thee! this is slander mighty"?

16. Allah admonisheth you never to do the like again, if ye be believers.

17. Allah maketh the signs clear for you; Allah is knowing, wise.

Evil precepts not to be followed; fairly early Medinan.

21. O ye who have believed do not follow the footsteps of Satan; if one follows the footsteps of Satan, he urges to what is indecent and disreputable; had it not been for the bounty and mercy of Allah towards you, not one of you would ever repent and set things right—verily Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

A husband's accusations of his wife.

6. Those who cast (imputations) upon their wives and have no witnesses except themselves [1]—let the testimony of one such be that he call Allah to witness four times, that he is of those who speak the truth,

7. And at the fifth time (ask) that the curse of Allah be upon him if he be of those who speak falsely.

8. It will avert the punishment from her that she call Allah to witness four times that he is of those who speak falsely

9. And at the fifth time (add) that the wrath of Allah be upon her if he be of those who speak the truth.

Slanderers condemned.

18. Verily, for those who love that indecency should be spread abroad in regard to those who have believed is a punishment painful,

19. In this world and the Hereafter; Allah knoweth, but ye do not know.

[1] Cf. Numbers v. 11 ff.

be pure, but Allah purifieth whom He willeth ; Allah is one who hears and knows.

Slanderers condemned ; earlier form of 18–20.

23. Those who cast (imputations) upon thoughtless but believing women under ward are cursed in this world and the Hereafter, and for them is a punishment mighty,

24. On the day when their tongues and hands and feet will bear witness against them for what they have been doing.

Connection not certain.

25. On that day Allah will pay them their just debt [1] in full, and they will know that Allah is the truth manifest.

Like marries like ; earlier form of 3.

26. Bad women to bad men, and bad men to bad women, good women to good men and good men to good women ; these (latter) are to be cleared of what (people) say ; for them is forgiveness and a noble provision.

Modest behaviour ; earlier form of 31.

30. Say to the Believers that they cast down their eyes and

20. Had it not been for the bounty and mercy of Allah towards you, and that Allah is kindly, compassionate. . . .

Forgiveness to be shown.[2]

22. Let not those of you who have abundance and ample means swear off from giving to relatives and the poor and those who emigrate in the way of Allah, but let them pardon and overlook ; do ye not like that Allah should forgive you ; Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Privacy to be respected.

27. O ye who have believed, do not enter houses other than your own until ye ask a friendly interview and salute its inmates ; that is better for you, mayhap ye will take heed.

28. If ye find no one therein, do not enter until permission is given you, and if ye are told to go away, go away ; it is more innocent for you, and Allah what ye do doth know.

29. But to enter houses which are not inhabited in which there

[1] Or " their true religion," but if the verse connects with what precedes, the word *dīn* must here be taken as equivalent to *dain* " debt."

[2] Said to refer to Abu Bakr who had vowed not further to support a poor relation who had spread the slander.

guard their private parts; that is more innocent for them; Allah is aware of what they work.

is anything of use to you is no fault upon you; Allah knoweth what ye do openly and what ye conceal.

Modest behaviour; year VI.

31. Say to the believing women that they cast down their eyes and guard their private parts and show not their ornaments, except so far as they (normally) appear, and let them throw their scarves over their bosoms and not show their ornaments except to their husbands or their fathers or the fathers of their husbands or to their sons or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers or the sons of their brothers or the sons of their sisters, or their women-folks, or those in their possession,[1] or male followers who have no desire,[2] or infants who have not got to know about the privy parts of women; and let them not beat with their feet so as to let the ornaments which they conceal be known; turn penitently to Allah as a body, O ye believers, mayhap ye will prosper.

Marriage recommended.

32. Settle the unmarried among you in marriage, also the upright among your male and female slaves; if they are poor, Allah will enrich them of His bounty; Allah is wide (in bounty), knowing.

33. And let those who do not find (means) to marry restrain themselves until Allah enrich them of His bounty; and for those in your possession who desire the writing (of manumission) write it if ye know any good in them, and give them of the wealth of Allah which He hath given you; and compel not your maids to prostitution, if they wish to live in ward, in order that ye may seek the chance gain of this present life; if anyone compel them, then after the compulsion laid upon them, Allah is forgiving, compassionate.

Signs; possibly Meccan, but at least twice revised later.

34. We have assuredly sent down to you signs which make clear, and a parable from those who have passed away before your time, and an admonition for those who show piety.

[1] *I.e.* slaves.

[2] This is usually interpreted as meaning aged servants; whether it includes eunuchs is disputed.

35. Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth ;
His light is like a niche in which is a lamp, the lamp in glass and the glass like a brilliant star, lit from a blessed tree, an olive neither of the East nor of the West whose oil would almost give light even though no fire did touch it ; [1]
light upon light ; Allah guideth to His light whomsoever He willeth ; Allah coineth parables for the people, and Allah everything doth know.
36. In houses which Allah hath permitted to be raised and His name to be remembered therein ; in which give glory to Him in the mornings and the evenings
37. Men whom neither trade nor bargaining divert from the remembrance of Allah the observance of the Prayer and the paying of the Zakāt fearing a day when upset will be the hearts and the sight ;
38. In order that Allah may recompense them the best of what they have wrought, and may of His bounty give them even more ; Allah provideth for whom He willeth without account.
39. But those who have disbelieved—their works are like a mirage in a desert which the thirsty (traveller) takes to be water, until when he comes to it, he finds it to be nothing, and finds Allah beside him, and He then pays him his account in full ; Allah is quick at accounting ;
40. Or like the darknesses on a roaring sea ; there covereth him wave above wave and cloud above all, darknesses one above another, when he puts out his hand he can hardly see it ;
to whom Allah giveth not light, for him there is no light (at all).
41. Does not one see that to Allah gives glory whosoever is in the heavens and the earth, the birds also in flocks ?
Each one knoweth his Prayer and his giving of glory, and Allah knoweth what they do.
42. To Allah belongeth the realm of the heavens and the earth, and to Allah is the trend.
43. Does not one see that Allah driveth cloud along, then uniteth it and maketh it a piled-up mass,

[1] The origin of this simile has been much discussed ; the above analysis, according to which, as is shown by the rhymes, 35a originally joined to 36, 37, confirms Macdonald's suggestion that it was derived from the lighted altar of a Christian church ; *E.I.* article "Allah."

and one sees the fine rain come forth from the midst of it ?
He causeth to come down from the heaven mountains (of cloud)
in which there is hail ; He smiteth therewith whom He willeth,
and turneth it away from whom He willeth ;
the gleam of His lightning nearly taketh away the sight.

44. Allah causeth to take their turn the night and the day ;
surely in that is a lesson for those who have sight.
Allah hath created every beast of water ;
some of them go upon their bellies, some upon two feet and some upon four ; Allah createth what He willeth.
Allah over everything hath power.

45. We have assuredly sent down signs which make clear,
and Allah guideth whom He willeth to a straight path.

Some dislike Muhammad's authority ; shortly before Uhud.

46. They say : " We have believed in Allah and the messenger and have obeyed," then after that a part of them turn away—these are not the believers.
47. When they are called to Allah and His messenger that he may judge between them, lo, a part of them avert themselves ;
48. But if they are in the right, they come to him readily enough.
49. Is there disease in their hearts, or are they in doubt, or do they fear that Allah may do them injustice, and His messenger ? Nay, they are the wrong-doers.
50. All that the believers said when they were called to Allah and His messenger that he might judge between them, was simply : " We hear and obey " ; these are the ones who prosper.
51. Whoever obeys Allah and His messenger, and fears Allah and shows piety—these are the ones who attain felicity.

Obedience not professions required.

52. They have sworn by Allah as solemnly as they could that if thou commandest them they will go forth ; say : " Do not swear ; reputable obedience (is enough) ; verily Allah is informed of what ye do."
53. Say : " Obey Allah and obey the messenger ; if then ye turn away, there only rests upon him what has been laid upon him, and upon you what has been laid upon you, but if ye obey him ye will be guided ; all that rests upon the messenger is the clear proclamation."

Allah's promise to the Believers.

54. Allah hath promised to those of you who have believed and wrought the works of righteousness, that He will surely make them successors (to power) in the land as He made those before them successors, and will surely establish for them their religion which He hath approved for them, and after their fear will give them in exchange security; "They shall serve Me not associating anything with Me, and whosoever disbelieves after that, they are the reprobate."
55. Observe the Prayer, pay the Zakāt, and obey the messenger, mayhap ye will have mercy shown you.
56. Think not those who have disbelieved able to frustrate (anything) in the land, seeing that their abode is the Fire—a bad destination.

Certain times of the day specially private; modification of 31.

57. O ye who have believed, let those who are in your possession, and those of you who have not reached the age of puberty, ask permission of you three times,[1] before the dawn-Prayer, when ye lay aside your garments at noon-day, and after the evening Prayer, three unguarded (times) for you; but beyond these times there is no fault upon you or upon them going round amongst each other; thus doth Allah make the signs clear to you, Allah is knowing, wise.
58. When the children among you reach the age of puberty, let them ask permission (before entering) as those before them asked permission; thus doth Allah make His signs clear to you, Allah is knowing, wise.

Older women exempted from the restrictions of 31.

59. As for the women who are past child-bearing and have no further expectation of marriage, it is no fault upon them that they lay aside their garments, not flaunting ornaments, but if they restrain themselves it is better for them; Allah hears and knows.

Eating in each other's houses; modification of 27 *ff.*

60. There is no restriction upon a blind or a lame or a sick person, nor upon yourselves in the matter of eating in your houses, or

[1] Probably refers to the three times of the day.

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